Z. A. Bhutto

The Political Thinker

by

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"And as we show beyond that heaven and earth,
In form and shape compact and beautiful,
In will, in action free, companionship,
And thousand other signs of purer life,
So on our heels a fresh perfection treads
A power more strong in beauty, born of us
And fated to excel us, as we pass
In glory that old Darkness."

Keats

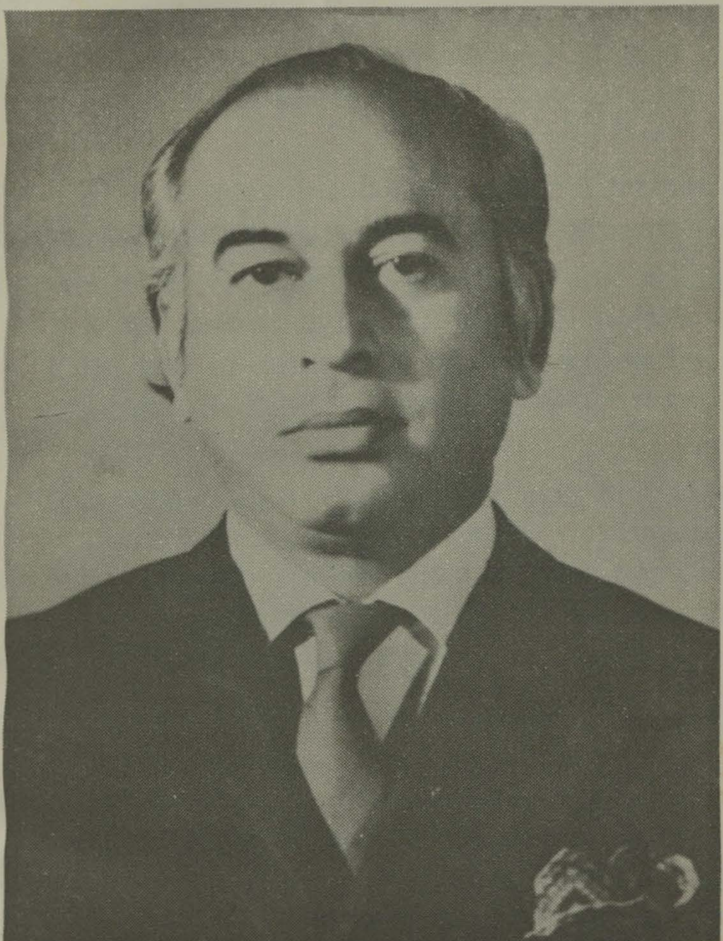
"The Strength of Pakistan lies in the strength of People"

Z.A. Bhutto

Dedicated to

The People of Pakistan

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Z. A. BHUTTO

FOREWORD

The decision to write this book has been prompted by two main considerations :-

(1) that there seemed a great need for making people understand Z.A. Bhutto's politics in the light of his utterances and writings and foreign writer's comments and remarks about him ;

(2) to remove misunderstandings and misgivings about Bhutto's political stands which reflect his politically realistic and pragmatic approach but are deliberately distorted by his ignorant and imprudent adversaries.

Z.A. Bhutto's writings are realistic, thought-provoking and impressive. They are replete with a burning desire for national amelioration and advancement. He sets certain principles and then applies them to changing political situations at home and abroad. For him sky is not as big as the mouth of the well. He has a keen sense of time and makes moves in view of the international perspective.

In this book we have purposely limited ourselves to Pakistan relationship with super powers and Bhutto's role in that context. A chapter on 'Bhutto's theory of Defence' has been added because this is a subject about which Bhutto has said so much.

At times readers may complain of repetition an duplication of ideas. But this was inevitable owing t intermingled subjects. Some chapters are profusel interspersed with quotations. This we have done o purpose because this book is an effort to assess an elaborate Bhutto's political theory and its applicatio as mirrored in his writings.

At this critical juncture of our history, Bhutt is the only politician who can extricate us fro the quaqmire of uncertainty, despondency and disillusion ment. Hence his support. Moreover, it is a truism that Bhutto's role in creating consciousness in the masse is phenomenal. No other leader could have injectec this consciousness in the people within such a shor period. Thanks to Bhutto's dynamism, courage, intelli gence and firm conviction in egalitarian dispensation Exploited ones have risen. The jinnie cannot go back into the bottle. Neither is this Bhutto's intention. He wants to build a new Pakistan, a Pakistan of erstwhile exploited ones. He is to be given some time for that All dirty hands off his jacket, jealous cats !

F.Z.
A.A.

"Diplomacy is a flexible art. What appears to be impossible today is possible tomorrow"

"Coherence is the virtue of a small mind"

"When events change, men must change with the events".

Z. A. Bhutto

Bhutto's Political Theory

Bhutto's Political Theory

Bhutto's politics is an extremely impressive phenomenon. He has a singular thinking on different aspects of politics. He is endowed with the quality of matching precepts with practice. Bhutto is both a theoritician and a practical politician.

The modern politics has shown that the political processes ought to be pregnant with a definite political theory. However, no sagacious politician can remain permanently glued to one, single political theory. On the other hand, a wise politician utilizes the political philosophy for the promotion of his objectives in consonance with exteraneous conditions and circumstances. In this way, a political theory, despite being a theory basically, keeps on changing it's complexion according to dictates and demands of practical politics. In short, a political theory which does not come upto the standard of practicality is devoid of utility. Similarly, the political actions divorced from an ideology cannot fructify.

When we talk of the political thinking of Z. A. Bhutto, we intend to ascertain the political ideology that has been formed because of his political actions and its capability to keep abreast of the changing times. In politics every ideology has got to surmount the impediments of time and action in order to establish its veracity and credibility. Judged from this angle, any political theory can be declared a practical theory.

Z. A. Bhutto's evaluation of any political, economic, social and historical problem always pulsates with originality of thinking. This originality of thinking gives birth to his political ideology and action. Bhutto has his own way of thinking and he is capable of translating his thinking into reality at specific time. This thinking

and action constitute the important ingredients of his personality. In order to understand his style of politics it is essential to familiarise one with the different shades of his thinking and modes of action. Z, A. Bhutto's political action is in fact his political ideology. His political ideology is in reality his political action. Both his ideology and action have the quality of undergoing change in the light of circumstances and conditions. In other words, Bhutto prefers flexible and changing values over inflexible and permanent ones. According to him the realities and facts change owing to changing circumstances. He seems to believe that constant is the change only. Because very few people can appreciate various reflections of Z. A. Bhutto's politics, they develope misunderstandings and misgivings and as a result charge Bhutto with opportunism and unpredictibility. These people arrive at conclusions with a superficial understanding and appreciation of Bhuttos's tactics.

Bhutto does not impede the path of change but assesses and makes appraisal of cause and effect relationship in a given situation. This does not mean that his politics betrays contradiction resulting in a wide chasm between his thinking and action. The persons who speak of such contradictions in Bhutto are always impervious to the fact that contradictions are the outcome of circumstances produced by dialectical process which have a clear tendency to alter their form with the passage of time. In fact, when conditions change in terms of quantity and quality, the adjustment in keeping with change cannot be considered a contradiction. The opposers of Bhutto's politics are too short sighted and addle-brained to analyse the complex situation with impartiality and objectivity. Such individuals do not believe in flexibility but advocate rigidity. The adoption and manifestation of a flexible attitude does not essentially obliterate principles in a changing situation.

Z.A. Bhutto takes political decisions in view of immediate and permanent developments. He gives more importance to the present because the present is shaped by certain contradictions in

the past. Bhutto is more concerned with 'what is' but at the same time does not overlook 'what has been' or 'what would be'. A rational and empirical combine of all these vicissitudes of time spells the political action of Z.A. Bhutto. In his opinion, the changing realities are the truth and adjustments and synchronization with them hallmarks his political thinking as well as his operational tactics.

After analysing the fundamentals and basic essence of Bhutto's political views, it is necessary to evaluate the prompting realities behind these views. Here it should also be seen that upto what extent can an independent political activity be maintained in an atmosphere of contradictory interests. Bhutto's views are not the outcome of a fragmentary study. They have been formed as a result of profound observation and prodigious experience. They are the outcome of a deep insight into the processes of history, sociology, psychology and other relating disciplines.

Another important question is that when change takes place and the kaleidoscope of circumstances shows changing of colours, what shades should one select for the projection of political predilections and operations. This selection should not be made under coercion, but should be effected in view of permanent and immediate needs. When objective realities change and we have to fit in ourselves with these realities, our approach is both independent and conditioned. The reason being that in this world there is no water-tight compartmentalization of systems which are interdependent and interlinked. Therefore, the selection and action may be independent alongwith being conditional. In case of quantitative change, an adjustment between basic principles and this change must be made. On the other hand, when the change is qualitative it is essential to formulate new principles. Therefore, the chances of selection are ample both in case of qualitative and quantitative change. However, it should be kept in mind that the said selection is conditioned with other realities like the political, social and economic system of a country, it's material resourcs, it's geographical importance and it's military might,

Bhutto thinks that a nation's will and independence is conditional upon certain circumstances and this independence can only be maintained by keeping in view the demands and calls of circumstances and the resources available. In his opinion, action, selection and independence are interconditioned.

There are two views about change available to us. One of metaphysicians and the other of dialecticians. The former believe that the personality and history undergo change as a result of external pressure on the society. Though metaphysicians do not deny the importance of subjective factors in bringing change, they lay more emphasis on objective factors. The latter believe that change takes place because of internal causes. They say that the process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis continues and things undergo qualitative change.

Now we will see as to what is the concept of Z.A. Bhutto about this change. Though his writings and speeches are indicative of changing realities and corresponding adjustments, yet he has not dilated upon factors behind the change. However, it can be concluded from Bhutto's writings, speeches and interviews that he is a pragmatist and he believes in striking pleasant balance between forementioned schools of thought. He believes that both external and internal causes are essential in bringing change. He thinks that internal and external causes in the form of economic, social and political conditions of a country, conflicting ideologies at international level and contradictions among countries tend to precipitate change. In short, Bhutto believes in :— (1) the identification of thinking and action with the objective realities ; (2) action according to the present situation with a clear understanding of the past ; (3). adoption of various alternatives at the same time ; (4) maintenance of balance between conflicting interests, of new environments and the nation's interest and independent activity limited only by the consideration of material resources available ; (5) a constant assessment and evaluation of the external and internal causes of change ; (6) under-

standing of the dialectical process of thesis, antithesis and synthesis and constant effort for the formulation of synthesis.

Z. A. Bhutto does not necessarily surrender to the change but makes his stance after stupendous thinking with an excellent sense of history and sense of time. He makes a clear appraisal of the components of a particular situation and the ingredients of a new situation and after a comparative, analytical study determines the direction of political action. Had this not been so his actions would have been a shot in the dark, groping in the dark the way his predecessors and politicians of their ilk had been doing for the past 25 years. An empirical scientific and calculated political action makes Bhutto a matchless politician and a statesman in the recent history of Indo-Pak sub-continent.

Changing realities plus sense of history plus determination of right direction constitute the political views of Z. A. Bhutto. His views are the result of an intelligent appreciation of the total situation. Total situation means a situation which precipitates as a crollary of social, economic, political and geographical conditions and conflicting ideologies of countries. If we understand Bhutto's political views and the ramifications of total situation, we will be convinced of his political realism which sometimes is termed as opportunism by his myopic and ignorant opponents. Any body who separates Bhutto's political action from the complexity of situation cannot appreciate his political style, rich in realism, intelligence, and progressiveness. Bhutto can foresee and foretell political trends and ripples likely to appear in the international politics with ease and confidence. His rare qualities of ingenuity, originality of thinking and freshness of political action make him a long-searched after leader of this tortured land of tatterdemalions.

While analysing Bhutto's political views we have to make a study of various thinkers and philosophers who have from time to time been advancing theories on change. In this respect we quote here Henri Bergson, the leading French philosopher of the present century. He says : "change is for more radical than we are at first inclined to suppose. For I speak of each of my

states as it forms a block and were a separate whole. I say indeed that I change but the change seems to me to reside in the passage from one state to the next, of each state, taken separately, I am apt to think that it remains the same during all the time it prevails. Nevertheless a slight effort of attention would reveal to me that there is no feeling, no idea, no volition, which is not going under-change every minute every moment. If a mental state ceased to vary, it's duration will cease to flow. Let us take the most stable of internal states, the visual perception of a motionless external object, the object may remain the same, I may look at it from the same side, at the same angle, in the same light, nevertheless the vision I now have of it differs from that which I have just had even if only because the one is an instant order than the other. My memory is there, which conveys same thing of the past into the present. My mental state as it advances on the road of time is continually swelling with the duration which it accumulates, it goes on increasing — rolling upon itself as a snowball, on the snow — still more in this the case with states deeply internal much as sensation, feeling, desire etc: which do not correspond like a simple visual perception to an unvarying external object. But it is expedient to disregard. This uninterrupted change, and to notice it only as when it becomes sufficient to impress a new attitude on the body, a new direction on the attention' then and then only, we find that our state has changed. The truth is that we change without ceasing, and the state is nothing but change."

(Creative Evolution P. 82)

This entire process of change is summed up in the words of Bergson as "doubtless, my present state is explained by what was in me, and by what was acting on a moment.' (P. 6)

Before presenting a critical evaluation of Bergson's views, it seems necessary to make a succint study of a few other philosophers which may furnish key to understanding Bhutto's political beliefs. Hegal says: "Dialectic, is the principle of all the movement and of all the activity find in reality. Everything that surrounds us can be treated as an instance of dialectic. We know

how all that is finite, instead of being stable and ultimate, is rather changeable and transitory. This is no other than the dialectic of the finite where by it being implicity other than itself, is driven beyond what it immediately is and turns its opposites — Such, dialectic is manifest in the motion of the heavenly bodies in political revolutions from anarchy to despotism and in the paradoxical shifts and switches of emotional mood and expression, everything in the world is said by Hegal to involve opposed and contradictory aspects : he maintains in fact that contradiction is the motive force of the world, that is absurd to say that contradictions are unthinkable."

(P : 65 Hegel, A re-examination By J. N. Findlay)

In order to fully comprehend Bergsonian creative evolution and Hegelian dialectical process, one must keep in view the theories advanced in their rejection and acceptance. Karl Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Tse Tung have rejected the creative evolution of Bergson's considering it a part of his metaphysical philosphy. Marx separated materialism from metaphysics and dovetailed it into dialectics. However, Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao did not accept Hegel in toto. They rejected Hegelian idealism but accepted his dialectics, though differing with him (Hegel). In so far as emergence of changes in material world were concerned, Engels while elucidating his contention regarding mutuality of matter and dialecties says : "Life consists precisely and primarily in this — that a being is at each moment itself and yet something else. Life is therefore also a contradiction which is present in things, and processes themselves amid which constantly originates and changes itself and as soon as the contradiction ceases, life too comes to an end." (On Contradiction P. 9)

Mao Tse Tung, later on, has further elaborated this view. He says : " As opposed to the metaphysical world outlook the materialist holds that in order to understand the development of a thing we should study it internally and in it's relation with other things ; in other worlds the development of things should be seen as this internal and necessary self movement while each thing in its movement is interralated

with an interacts on the things around it the fundamental cause of the development of a thing is not external but internal it lies on the contradiction within the thing. There is internal contradiction in every single thing, hence its motion and development contradictoriness within a thing is the fundamental cause of its development, while its interrelation and interactions with other things are secondary cause." (On Contradiction P : 38) And further :— "There are two states of motion in all things, that of relative rest and that of conspicuous change. Both are caused by the struggle between the two contradictory elements contained in a thing. When the thing is in the first state of motion, it is undergoing only quantitative and not qualitative change and consequently presents outwaıd appearance of being at rest. When the thing is in the second state of motion the quantitative change of the first state has already reached a culminating point and gives rise to the dissolution of the thing as an entity and thereupon qualitative change ensures; hence the appearance of a conspicuous change. Such unity, solidarity combination, harmony, balance, stalemate, dead lock rest, constancy, equilibrium, solidity and attraction etc : as we see in daily life, are all the appearances of things in the state of quantitative change on the other hand, the dissolution of unity, that is, the destruction of this solidarity combination, harmony, balance, stalemate, dead lock, rest constancy, equilibrium, solidity and attraction and the change of each into its opposition are all the appearances of thing in the state of qualitatives change the transformation of one process into another, Things are constantly transforming themselves from the first into the second state of motion the struggle of opposites goes in both states but the contradiction resolved through the second state. That is why we say that the unity of opposites is conditional, temporary and relative, while the struggle of mutually exclusive opposite is absolute."

(On contradiction P : 45 & 46)

The foregoing quotations from eminent philosophers and thinkers make us reach the conclusion that Z.A. Bhutto has meticulously st died John Locke, Rousseau, Hume and Bergson,

but he is found in close proximity with dialectical philosophers. Bhutto uses the instrument of dialectics to grapple with the intricacies of historical, sociological and political processes. In an interview to German T.V. he told the interviewer, Dr. Walterberg, as :— "I believe in objective politics as much as possible. The reality is important, in that, principle should be subordinated into passing realities. The principle must remain intact but within the scope of those principles there is considerable room on politics to step backward and forward, not to the current and tide. One must know when to move forward and when to go back, like in military work. And so with the principle remaining unchanged, intact, one has to be a little flexible and if you are not flexible, the people suffer, theories do n't matter finally. Theories are important because out of theories comes clarity, comes an approach, comes a sense of direction. Theories are the blue print of the political architecture. You can't ignore these things but sometimes the design has to be changed for some reason or for a catastrophe of something or the other, that has happened, that we must take cognizance of it." (President Bhutto's Interviews to Foreign Correspondents P : 39)

Bhutto, as will be clear from this interview believes in : (1) objective politics. (2) flexibility of attitude in case objective realities undergo change during a political action, (3) maintenance of balance between principles and changes.

Further, Z. A. Bhutto is in favour of eschewing rigidity as a norm of political behaviour. In his book 'Myth of Independence' he says :— "Political theorists, particularly in Pakistan are inclined to make policy assessment out of immediate developments and jump to hasty and arbitrary conclusion. Difficulties arise from our habit of reaching rigid conclusion and persisting in them. It is necessary to make a departure from old habits of thought for the sake of a clearer appreciation of facts." (P : 6)

Bhutto while giving interview to the representative of Australian Broadcasting Corporation in Quetta on May 2, 1972, brilliantly recapitulated his political views : "Where events move, men must

move with the events". This key sentence lucidly defines the political thinking of Bhutto. His politic's is the outcome of an intelligent comprehension of process of time, objective conditions, and changing realities. Basically, Z.A. Bhutto is a realist.

Bhutto while speaking in the Pakistan history conference on April 6, 1973, dealt with the co-existence of the present and the past as an integral part of social experience. He said :— "The past which is recorded in history is not a dead past, it lives, it reverberates through every moment of the present. The continuity of the past and the present is an assumption of individual experience. But their co-existence, their interpretation is not merely the imaginative creation of a Proust or the metaphysical construction of a Bergson but a demonstratable fact of humanity's social experience." (7th April 1973, the Pakistan Times, Lahore)

Z. A. Bhutto, like Karl Marx, attaches paramount Importance to practice and action in the field of politics. Marx says :—

"The truth i.e. the reality and power of thought must be demonstrated in practice. The contest as to the reality or non reality of a thought which is isolated from practice, is purely, scholastic question......philosophers have only interpreted the world in various way, but the real task is to alter it." (History of western Philosophy By : Bertrand Russel P : 812)

Z.A. Bhutto has though heavily drawn upon philosophies and thinkings of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Mao, but his political approach is neither orthodox nor dogmatic. He maintains a conspicuous, distinguishable political identity. His politics may show streaks of knowledge acquired from various political philosophers and thinkers, but he has established his own separate entity as a political thinker.

At times, Bhutto shows remarkable resemblance with the American Philosopher William James, an ardent advocate of pragmatism. William James says :— "Ideas, because true so far as they help us to get into satisfactory relations with other parts of our experience. An idea is true, so long as to believe it is a profitable

to our liver. Truth is one species of good, not a separate category. Truth happens to an idea, it is made true by events. It is correct to say, with the intellectualists that a true idea must agree with reality but agreeing does not mean copying to agree in the widest sense with a reality can only mean to be guided rather straight upto it or into it. Surrounding as to be put into such working touch with it as to handle either it or something connected with it : better than if we disagreed. The true is only the expedient in the way of our thinking — in the long sense and on the whole of course. The other words, our obligation to seek truth is part of our general obligation to do what pays." (History of Western Philosophy By :)

Bertrand Russel : P : 844)

However, the basic difference between William James and Z.A. Bhutto is that the latter has a commendable ability of adjustment with the changing conditions. James, on the other hand, seems to be in favour of unconditional shift in the face of changing conditions, a well-nigh opportunistic approach.

As has been said earlier, Bhutto's political views are based on change and draw inspiration from kaleidoscopic shiftings of circumstances. Here we will examine the beneficiality of Bhutto's political views and policies. No political ideology takes birth in a void, neither does it operate in a vacuum. On the contrary, it owes its inception to manifold realities and is put into practice in a specific atmosphere. Z.A. Bhutto says in his book The 'Myth of independence' :—

"A nation's political philosophy and it's social system are subject to modification and change. Technology, material resources and political structures are all susceptible to change, but the physical facts of geography are immutable. At any given time, the foreign policy of a country must, therefore, represent synthesis of variable factors with those that are fixed. Thus in the difficult task of formulating foreign policy and on facing international pressure as well as the aggressive intent of adversaries, account need to be taken of a variety of highly complex factors, such as a

nation political philosophy its economic system, it's cultural tradition and it's geographical location." (P : 28 & 29)

Here Bhutto emphasises on the synthesis of changing realities and the one apt to undergo change. How realistic is this approach will be borne out by the following ideas of Mao Tse Tung contained in his essay On Contradictions :—

"Changes do take place in the geography and climate of the earth as a whole and in every part of it, but they are insignificant when compared with changes in society. Geographical and climatic changes manifest themselves in terms of ten of thousands of years, while social changes manifest themselves in thousands, hundreds, or ten of years, and even in few years or months in times of revolution — Changes in society are due chiefly to the development of the internal contradictions in society — does materialistic dialectics exclude external causes. Not at all, it holds that external causes are the condition of change, and internal causes are the basis of change and that external causes become operative through internal causes"—

Here there is a striking resemblance between Bhutto and Mao because both believe in social, economic and political change instead of geographical one. Further, both of them consider external causes as the condition precedent for change and internal causes as the foundation. In other words, Bhutto thinks an appraisal of conditions may be made and action and policy determined with the help of the ingredients of a situation, and keeping in view the larger and immediate interests. This constitutes the policy of 'give and take' and the policy of accommodation as often desired by Bhutto *vis a vis* the obdurant opposition. On April 11, 1973, he told the constituent Assembly :—

"Of politics, it is complicated. The politicians were much maligned but the fundamental lesson he had learnt from politics was that they must maintain a sense of balance, equilibrium and in no case reach the point of no return he said, was disastrous for

Government and the whole society. The country, he said, had suffered badly because "we" the people of Pakistan, rapidly reach a point of no return and this attitude had made irreparable damage to the people." (The Pakistan Times Lahore)

"We cannot have strong Armed Forces if we have an economically weak Pakistan"

Z.A. Bhutto

Bhutto's Theory of Defence

Bhutto's theory of defence

Z. A. Bhutto does not only have a particular thinking about politics and economics, he also has a definite thinking about defence. In order to know about the components of his theory and their formative phase, we must look into the political life of Z.A. Bhutto which is like a mirror reflecting his practical approaches towards defence and other fields.

We can divide his political life into three different periods. First, from 1963 to 1966 when he served the nation as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in the Cabinet of Ayub Khan. Second, when he resigned from Foreign Ministership and initiated political struggle against Ayub Khan and formed Pakistan Peoples Party. Third, from December 20, 1971 onward. These periods of Bhutto's political life depict a particular political phenomenon not only on national level but also on international level. All the time Bhutto strived to preserve the independence and sovereignty of Pakistan and in this respect he expressed his views regarding the defence of country.

During the first period of his political life, when Z. A. Bhutto took over charge as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, the political situation of the sub-continent was in a melting pot. This changing situation of political affairs affected the policies and special arrangements about defence. In other words, we can say that the Sino-Indian border conflict in 1962 proved as a turning point in the history of sub-continent. U.S.A. and other western countries rushed in to assist India economically and militarily to save their own political interests. In addition to it India was also being assisted by another big Power, Russia, whose interests were also

involved in this region. This created new hopes and fears and Pakistan had to ponder over the situation seriously :-

"The primary objective of Pakistan foreign policy in seeking alignment with the West in 1954 and then her drift towards China in 1962, has been the search for security against India."

(P. 18 Rejection Alliance-Shaheen Irshad)

Though Pakistan was tied to western countries through SEATO, CENTO pacts, yet the new situation emerged against her own interest and expectations. The allies of Pakistan had started to rally round India. Due to this, the leadership of Pakistan had to face new worries about her political relationships and defence problems. The foremost worry in this respect was that India was being backed by U.S.A., U.K. and U S.S.R. in terms of military strength and this was apt to create an unbalanced situation encouraging India to undo Pakistan. The second question was a natural result of this fear and related to the ways and means of defending Pakistan. The question cropped up as to how in the new scheme of thinking and new conditions can Pakistan maintain her integrity and independence.

It is evident from the history of Pakistan that defence has always been given top priority due to Indian bellicosity. Economic conditions and military needs forced Pakistan to depend upon western countries. The new situation that emerged in 1967 once again made Pakistan think about some other alternative for the defence of the country. At this critical situation Z. A. Bhutto entered the political scene of Pakistan as its foreign minister with a determination to stand up to the new challenge of history. Immediately after joining as the foreign minister of Pakistan, Bhutto took two steps :-

(1) For the first time Z.A. Bhutto started working on the normalisation and improvement of Pakistan's relations with two big neighbouring countries, Russia and China.

(2) He decided to resist the military build up of India and criticised those countries who were assisting India.

These political steps were directly concerned with the defence of Pakistan. The political relationship with China created a new balance in the sub-continent safeguarding the interest of Pakistan. Now Pakistan was in a position to follow an independent policy to save her own interest and she was not obliged to bow before American dictates. This new political relationship of Pakistan with China proved fruitful when India attacked Pakistan in September 1965. India had concentrated her forces on East Pakistan borders and was about to attack the Eastern front when Chinese ultimatum forced her to withdraw.

The second political step taken by Z. A. Bhutto to resist external pressures was also of great importance because it saved Pakistan from conspiracies which were being hatched by India and other interested countries to bring Pakistan under Indian hegemony.

The ideological differences were widening between China and Russia. From 1962 to 1966 situation stiffened. Russian interests were also identical with those of America to contain China. Both the countries despite Pakistan's desire to neutralise their action, continued to aid India. Their motive was to create unbalanced military situation so that Pakistan could be forced to deviate from her independent foreign policy and succumb to the dictates of global powers. Z.A. Bhutto resisted these pressures and followed an independent line. Due to his bold decision the big powers could not impose their will. This policy proved successful and Pakistan gained support from all over the world during the war of 1965. Bhutto's political struggle changed the situation. Thus with the political support of other friendly countries he made Indian military build up ineffective- India could not bring Pakistan under her hegemony even with the support of some super powers

Two important events took place after Bhutto's resignation which affected the defence of Pakistan. The first event took place after September 1965 when America imposed ban on the supply of arms to Pakistan and India, and the second when Pakistan Government succumbed to the pressures of some western countries and decided to cut her military budget.

According to Bhutto's point of view, these two events badly affected the defensive capabilities of Pakistan. American decision to impose ban was not in the interest of Pakistan, because this decision did not affect India as she kept on getting arms from other countries whereas Pakistan had nobody to fall back upon.

Bhutto, who always thinks, decides and behaves in international perspective, had calculated that if Pakistan bowed to the pressure, it would prove fatal for her defence. He favoured cut in Budget, but not on unilateral basis. Ayub Khan could not foresee the consequences of his decision and under external pressures decided to slash military Budget. Z.A. Bhutto criticised this decision and opined in his book "The myth of Independence: "Inspite of the self-evident objections to bilateral disarmament, the Pakistan Government has taken the unusual step of announcing unilateral reduction in the expenditure on armed forces for 1967-68. In presenting his budget, the Finance Minister extolled the instances of development and expatiated on the burdens of armaments which he considered to be 'non-productive expenditure'. As a 'gesture' to India, the Government reduced the defence expenditure for the current year by Rs. 70 million (From Rs. 2.250 million to Rs. 2180 million) and imposed a total cut of as much as 24 percent from the peak defence expenditure of Rs. 1,850 million in 1965-60. Judging from past experience, Pakistan may have to pay very dearly for this gesture. It is a tragic commentary on present official thinking that it has forgotten what price Pakistan had to pay during the September war of 1965 for having frozen its defence expenditure, despite a sharp upward trend in India's defence outlay since 1962. During that war, many Government officials did not conceal their bitter right at not having increased defence expenditure since 1962 to provide one or two more divisions. which might have made the decisive difference between victory and defeat.

Even the peak expenditure of Rs. 2,850 million in the war year of 1965-6 was sufficient to offset the expenditure of Rs. 10,260 million regularly earmarked by India since 1962. With the termination of military assistance from the U.S., it would have been more

sensible to maintain, if not increase, the expenditure on defence, which is less than one quarter that of India. For introducing a measure of unilateral disarmament sufficient to have dire consequences on the nation security, the Government of Pakistan seems to be unaware of the truth of Santayanis observation that those who cannot remember the past are condemned to repeat it."

(P. 98 Myth of Independence)

Bhutto left his office but pointed out dangers inherent in the shortsighted decision. During this time Ayub Khan's Government was fully exposed. The political and economic problems which he tried to burry under the slogans of development caught fire. Eventually, Ayub Khan had to quit his office. But another tragedy, which ended in a "Great tragedy" took place : the Field Marshal was replaced by another General, Yahya Khan. He abrogated constitution and posed himself as a redeemer and promised to restore democracy in the country. To prove his sincerity he announced the date and time for election, fixed rules and regulation which suited his concealed intentions. Pakistan Peoples Party won with sweeping majority in Western Wing. Awami League secured thumping success in the Eastern Wing.

A difference of opinion emerged between the two majority parties. But instead of providing them a chance to reconcile, General Yahya Khan exploited the situation for his selfish motives. Due to his interference, the situation ended in confrontation rather than reconciliation. The peoples of East Pakistan who had been exploited since the birth of Pakistan agitated and once again it was decided by the coterie of thick-headed generals headed by usurper Yahya Khan to take military action. Yahya Khan ordered to crush the agitation ruthlessly. Yahya Khan in his speech on March 24, 1971, declared Sheikh Mujibur Rahman a traitor. Military action in East Pakistan damaged Pakistan reputation. India attacked Pakistan at a time which suited her interest. Z.A. Bhutto had already pointed out that rule of Generals would prove fatal for the integrity of Pakistan and any action taken by the military regime was bound

to end in a failure. According to Bhutto, military government did not reflect the will of the people. Bhutto opposed military regime not only that he was one of the interested parties desirous of power, but because in case military continued to play this type of role, it would definitely weaken military position of Pakistan. He expressed his views in his book "The Great Tragedy." He clearly indicated the position which had arisen due to military Government and stated that Pakistan was being pushed towards political isolation :

"Apart from a few friendly states like Iran and Turkey, and some other countries in the Middle East, in Asia and Africa, international response to a matter which is exclusively within the jurisdiction of Pakistan has been disappointing. It is in marked contrast to the situation in 1965 when, during the Indo-Pakistan war, the whole world, with exception of Yugoslavia and Malaysia, supported Pakistan to such an extent that the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Lal Bahadur Shastri, had to bemoan the fact that India stood isolated.

The Foreign Office has failed abysmally. It has not only been on the defensive but has been shamefully apologetic. This is what happens to a country that turns an activist foreign policy into a defensive foreign policy. This is what happens to a country whose foreign affairs fall into the hands of commonplace bureaucrates and incompetent individuals arbitrarily appointed by non-political regimes."

(The Great Tragedy P. 55 - 56).

During the rule of "Generals" Z.A. Bhutto warned the nation about the inherent dangers. But General Yahya Khan paid no attention. He continued to use under hand tactics for the perpetuation of his rule. This created a political void and economic disparity. The military generals who were badly involved in political affairs paid scant attention to military affairs for which they were being paid heavily. The internal conditions of Pakistan provided a golden chance to interested countries to

interfere in the internal affairs of Pakistan thus finally dismembering it.

Now we will move one step forward and analyze as to what is Bhutto's theory of defence and how is it possible to defend Pakistan more effectively.

If we analyse Bhutto's political thinking we can easily understand that he has specific thinking about the defence of the country. This specific thinking is composed of three elements :

(1) That military can defend the country only with the support of the people.

(2) Economic prosperity is a 'must' for the defence of the country.

(3) Political machinery must be effective to defend the country.

These three elements are of great importance as regards Bhutto's theory of defence.

If we keep in mind his first point, we can easily conclude that now a days a small country like Pakistan, with meagre resources and underdeveloped economy, cannot defend itself with the help of professional soldiers alone. Z. A. Bhutto has learned from history and experience that we can defend our country with the help of peoples army. In this regard he referred to the protracted war of Vietnam and argued that with the help of peoples army a small country can face a big country. He said in his book "The myth of Independence" :

"The Vietnam war has proved that a small poor nation can fight the most powerful nation in the world despite its inferiority in technique, wealth, and numbers. Admittedly, the terrain of Vietnam aids the defenders, but there are other overwhelming factors which more than neutralize this advantage. For us the lesson of that war is that a peoples army can resist army aggression ; for the Great Powers the lesson is not to get bogged down in such a quagmire. Pakistan's best deterrent would be a national militia, trained and led by professional officers, to support the standing

forces in the event of war. Military training in the University should be obligatory. In every village there should be created a cadre of active and courageous young men well trained in the use of the primary weapons. In Switzerland every household has to maintain a firearm in good order. The people must defend themselves, and the prospect of a whole nation armed and trained is as powerful a deterrent as an undeveloped country can hope to possess."

(P. 153-154)

However it would be incorrect to presume that Bhutto did not attach due importance to regular army. The cornerstone of his theory of defence is that Army with the help of people can defend the country in a much better way. We can appreciate his thinkings if we consider it in the perspective of Vietnam war. U.S. is a big power as compared to Vietnam but the determination of peoples forces compelled America to bow to her knees. Similarly, India is a big country as compared to Pakistan in terms of economic resources and military strength, therefore, Bhutto's suggestion about organisation of peoples army is understandable.

Z. A. Bhutto expressed his views in a speech delivered in National Assembly on November 20, 1965, as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan."

"Here it was demonstrated that the Indian army was not capable of achieving the objective of taking Lahore as it was held at bay, held at its own frontiers. It was a magnificent achievement of the people and the Armed forces of Pakistan. Our war is a peoples war. The Indians may have bigger army, they may overwhelm us in numbers, but they must know that as far as Pakistan is concerned, they will have to fight every man, woman and child of Pakistan. They will have to fight in the streets, in the houses and in the villages..." P. 547

(Important speeches & Press conferences of Z. A. Bhutto)

Z. A. Bhutto not only appreciated the vigilance, valour and sense of duty of Pakistan army but also declared that every

Pakistani, younger or elder, man or woman, will defend the country. He emphasized it in his various speeches delivered during his first, second and third period of political life. After the fall of Dacca, Bhutto took over charge as the President of Pakistan. He expressed his views in an address to the Judges, lawyers and magistrates on December 29, 1971, at Lahore and once again paid tribute to the Armed forces for their services. He said :

"I would like to see again that the morale of the armed forces and the morale of the people is lifted. It is essential to lift the national morale. The armed forces and the people were separated. We must bring them together again.

The Armed forces are from the people. If the people are good, the armed forces cannot be bad. This segregation and lack of accountabilities is chiefly responsible for this state of affairs. We would like to see a return of the people and the armed forces to a harmonious relationship commanded by a Parliament and adjudicated by an independant judiciary."

(P. 28 Speeches and statement Dec. 20, 1971, March 31, 1972).

Z. A. Bhutto also analysed the situation which accrued due to the interference of few Generals in political affairs. When he addressed a public meeting in Karachi on January 3, 1973, he talked about new realities in the sub continent :—

"I want to tell the Indian Government that if they did not want peace and tranquillity and if the Indian Government wants to destroy Pakistan and if they wanted to resort to the same aggression against W. Pakistan which they committed against East Pakistan, they must know that in West Pakistan we have a peoples Government today. They are welcome to do so. It would be confrontation of corpses, confrontation of the dead, life would fight against life. Indian Government must understand this and listen to me that we are a proud and self-respecting nation. She should know that her armed forces cannot frighten us. This is a question of our pride and dignity. This is the question of our valour. Death is better than this life. Our nation will fight. Its children will

fight in every house, in every field, but whatever may happen we are not going to be the aggressors."

(P. 55 Speeches & statement)

Now, we come to the second point of his theory of defence i.e. how much is it correct to say that economic prosperity and economic system based on justice is a 'must' for a strong army? It is correct because the strong armies belong to economically stabilized nations like China, U.S.A. U.S.S.R. and some other western countries. We can, therefore, draw conclusion that the economic basis must be strong for a strong army. Pakistan cannot ignore this fact. If our industry and commerce are not developed on sound grounds we cannot purchase arms and cannot meet expenditure of Armed Forces. That is why Bhutto attaches importance to it. He espoused this idea in his book" The Myth of Independence" :

"Pakistan will have to pay equal attention to the attainment of self reliance through economic development and to her defence requirements."

(P. 157)

In his address to the sailors on February 11, 1973, at Karachi he opined that we must try to establish an economic system based on justice :

"The President was convinced that fundamental changes in economic and social structure were imperative because they were conducive to rapid over-all development of the country." We cannot have strong Armed Forces if we have an economically weak Pakistan" he maintained.

He stressed the need for relying more and more on our own resources. As a matter of principle, we should not depend on any country perpetually as it was not in the larger national interests. We can have assistance from others but we must gear up our own resources. We must meet our essential requirements and rebuild Pakistan, and the Navy should render a powerful shoulder to the wheels of progress in this country" he added."

(P. 81, Speeches and Statements).

Z.A. Bhutto as the President of Pakistan laid stress on the development of economy as well as military build up. No body can deny the fact that economic basis of the country is the real source of its strength. If economic system is based on exploitation it will certainly affect the other parts of life including military. If the system is based on the principle of justice, it would definitely produce a strong army having its roots in people. Bhutto expressed his thinking without any reservation. He did not reconcile with the idea of defeat of Pakistani forces but appreciated the performance of forces in the battlefield. He paid tribute to the brave and devoted soldiers of Pakistan. He was convinced that the armed forces were not defeated but the system based on exploitation was defeated. Z.A. Bhutto said in a speech delivered on March 19, 1972 :

"The people of Pakistan are not weaklings. They are a brave people. Pakistan has a brave army. India must know that Pakistan has not been defeated. A selfish, corrupt and dis-honest coterie has been defeated, the coterie clung to power".

(P. 138 Speeches & Statements)

The third point of Bhutto's concept is related to democracies. We have experienced the truth of this point during the war of 1971. It is understood that one reason of our defeat was that there was no political system working in the country. A bunch of Generals was using armed forces for their own ends. Political system creates so many instituti ons and with the working of these institutions the society grows and develops. The chain of institution results in stabilizing the society. But the moment these institut'ons stop working the process of growth and development comes to a stand still. This situation appeared in the political life of Pakistan during Ayub's era. After that General Yahya Khan usurped power, annulled constitution and pulverised all political institutions. This action of a General proved fatal and the political and economic machinery of the country stopped

Series of actions taken by Yahya Government resulted in political and economic crises. Yahya Khan was keen to make capital out of these crises and perpetuate his illegal rule. But his policies damaged the prestige of the country and the armed forces. Z.A. Bhutto asked the General to behave. He said that in case situation created by the Generals in East Pakistan could not be controlled by them they should entrust the political affairs to the politicians because Bhutto had a firm conviction that political issue could not be resolved by force. He commented :

"The inescapable conclusion is that the people must participate in Government with military operation continuing in the East wing, with India on the point of going to war, with mounting frustration in the west wing, the present regime cannot continue its military bureaucratic rule and hope to overcome the crisis, only a genuine representative Government having the confidence and support of people, can succeed. For this reason, the Peoples Party believes, that, representing the people, it is not only its right but its duty to call for an early transfer of power to the elected representatives. If there is delay in the transition from military to democratic rule, the country may well reach the point of no return within a matter of months"

(P. 82 The Great Tragedy)

Z.A . Bhutto demanded restoration of democracy because he had calculated that if military rule perpetuated it would damage the country. He made it clear to Yahya Khan that the military dictatorship and bureaucracy could not control the turmoil until power was transferred to the elected representative of the people. But the intransigent Generals paid no heed to his suggestions. They betrayed their professional obligation unabashedly. In the end the institution of army, one of the most eulogised institution, was shattered internally and it weakened the position of Pakistan. Political activity and institution were paralysed. According to Z.A. Bhutto's thinking "Bonopartic tendencies" and adventurism was harmful to the countries. When he came into power he analysed the situation and denounced these tendencies. He said :

"You must remember, my friends and compatriots, that the people of Pakistan and the armed forces themselves are equally determined to wipe out Bonapartic influences from the armed forces. This is essential for the promotion of the high standards of the armed forces. It is essential so that these tendencies never again pollute the political life of this country. Bonapartism is an expression which means that professional soldiers turn professional politicians. So I do not use word Bonatasism. I use the word Bonapartic because what has happened in Pakistan since 1954 and more openly since 1958 is that some professional Generals turned to politics not as a profession but as a plunder and as such, the influences that crept into Pakistan's socio-political life destroyed its fabric as the influences of Bonapartism had affected Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries. But come what may there Bonapartic influences must be rooted out, in the interest of the country, in the interest of Pakistan of tomorrow, in the interest of the armed forces and the people of Pakistan"."

(P. 110, 111, Speeches & statements, Dec. 20, 1,71, March 31, 1972)

According to Bhutto's point of view, Bonapartism was not only harmful for the military but also for the country. What are Bonapartic tendencies ?

"Bonapartic tendency" is an action or desire to act, to usurp power. It reflects sense of adventurism. Such persons, having Bonapartic tendencies betray their duties and interfere in political fields. Bhutto thinks that this kind of tendencies must be curbed if we want to build a strong army.

If we analyse the period of Ayub Khan and Yahya Khan, we can appreciate the truth of Bhutto's thinking. It would be incorrect to think that Bhutto is deliberately interested in paralysing the institution of Army. In actuality, he wants to make it strong but on the right footing. His over all attitude about military is favourable but he wants to discourage adventurists. But in the history of Pakistan quite a few Generals bargained their position and betrayed their profession. Bhutto practically proved it that he is in favour

of a strong army. In his speeches he denounced Bonapartic tendencies and few adventurist Generals ; paid tribute to army men and once again informed the nation that the Government can run smoothly only if we have some political system, some political institution. Bhutto said it on March 19, 1972 about the reign of terror :

"On September 11, 1971, at the Quaid's Mazar, I had asked "when shall the enternal night disappear, when will the sun rise ?". If the transfer of power was delayed, the country would be destroyed. It would not be the state of the Quaid's conception.

On October 14, 1971, I said, "we do not want war". Yahya Khan wanted to know why I had said so. I said that war could only be fought when people were ready for it. We were ready for war in 1962, we were ready again in 1965. But now the armies were weakened because democracy had been weakened. The people were clogged, political institutions were destroyed. I had warned Yahya against war. I said Pakistan was not prepared. Yahya said no one could run Pakistan Pakistan was destroyed. It was finished. Foreign exchange was exhausted. There was no money. The Indian army was on our borders. We had no supplies. Our soldiers were badly equipped and badly clad.

P : 139

(Speeches and statements).

Z.A. Bhutto's evaluation was hundred percent correct. In his address to National Assembly on April 14, 1972, he described the situation in its true perspective with the force of argument :

"In 21 years of Pakistan's life, our people had twice seen the proclamation of Martial Law and the abrogation of the Constitution. At the same time, our people had experienced a rapid deterioration in their economic condition. By the time General Yahya Khan arrived here, a general breakdown became apparent.

No regime lacking a political base, dependent entirely on bureau acrats, could grapple with the grave socioeconomic problemes of the country. This was particularly true of a Generals junta ; without

roots in the people, without the participation and support of the people.

(P. 81. speeches and statements April 1, 1972, June 30, 1972)

Bhutto paid tribute to soldiers and condemned a few foolish Generals who exploited the army for their personal ends. He said on 21 April 1972 at Rawalpindi :

"The injustice done to Pakistan in the past which led us to trouble was not the fault of our brave armed forces. There were selfish people who usurped the Govt. and exploited the nation, the people, and also exploited the armed forces. It was not a militry Govt ; it was an oligarchy. There were a few people who wanted to lord it over and usurp Pakistan. The armed forces were not at fault. They were dragged into politics. The armed forces were exploited. There were people who got rich on bribes. See what they have done to the nation. They were some individuals who did wrong to the country. The armed forces were not at fault the people were not at fault. It was the system that was at fault. So with God's help burry this sytem and do not let it come again ....The responsibilities of looking after the political affairs have been entrusted to the people while the armed forces have been asked to fulfil their own reponsities. The people and the Govt. and also the opposition groups have to do constructive work. Whe have to build Pakistan. The armed forces are to defend the territorial integrity of the country, to defend the frontiers"

(P. 61 Speeches and Statemnts)

In this way Bhutto stressed the need of a stabilised economy and sound political basis for a strong efficient army.

It is however possible that some people in the forces may be thinking that Bhutto is interested in weakening the position of army. But this is incorrect be cause Bhutto attaches equal importance to tenants, labour, students, intellectuals and soldiers. On the one side he emphasises to mobilise the economic machinery, to speed up work in the field of in educational institutions, on the other

hand he extols the army as an institution. He said on March 3, 1972, while addressing nation :

"We are determined to have a new institution of the armed forces. We are absolutely determined to have it. We are determined to have invincible Armed forces. I know that Pakistan possesses the material to have a strong and a valiant army. We have had in the past a strong and valiant army and we are determined to restore that position. It must again become the finest fighting machine in Asia. This we must do. This is a sacred task. It is a sacred undertaking and you will see that with the passage of time this wili be done.'

(P. 110 Speeches & Statements)

When we come to understand Bhutto's views about defence and armed forces another question arises ; Why does he want to build a strong army ? Does he have some aggressive intentions towards some country ? This question is of primaiy importance. But when we thoroughly study his political role and his theory of defence, we can easily draw conclusion thal he was not in favour of aggression even at that time when he declared to fight for one thousand years against India. Even at this stage he does not have any aggressive intentions. He wants to build a strong army not for aggressive purposes but for defensive purposes. The history of subcontinent shows that Pakistan has never committed aggression against India whereas India initiated aggression against Pakistan in 1950, 1965, and 1971. With referenee to the past behaviour of Bhutto we can claim that Pakistan has no aggressive design against any country.

The three wars between India and Pakistan, Russian and American assistance to India and the amputation of an integral part of Pakistan has created such an unbalanced situation that it would be foolish to consider that Pakistan wants to attack India. In this perspective another question is also important because the 1970 war has changed the conditions. Both the countries in the subcontinent have expressed desire to normalise theire relations. The question is why Pakistan and Indian Governments are keen for

military build up at the cost of economic amelioration. This question is important not only due to economic conditions of South Asia but because of the changing complexion of world relations. In fact such questions are the product of misunderstandings. For example, when it is said that Pakistan wants to make her military as one of the best "fighting machine" of Asia, India starts propaganda against Pakistan and alleges that Pakistan has bad intention against India. If we analyse Bhutto's thinking in its true perspective, we can reach the conclusion that Bhutto has never favoured aggression. In the past when he was the Foreign Minister of Pakistan he had made it clear to the world that Pakistan desired to maintain peace in the subcontinent and that she wanted to end the arms race in this area so that problem of poverty could be solved. But the dream of peace could come true only if India and Pakistan, evincing equal sense of responsibility, revised their military budgets. Bhutto, as the Foreign Minister said on June 22, 1964, while addressing the National Assembly :

"Imagine that out of our budget allocation of three thousand million rupees, we are spending over a thousand million on arms and in the case of India with a budget of thirteen thousand million they are spending ten thousand million on arms. This is division of national resources into unproductive channels and is not fair to people who suffered severely and who are living in privation. This is not fair to our masses. This is not fair to the 80 percent of our people who want a better standard of life. It is not a law of God that we should be poor and our people should suffer. The money which we are spending on arms could be better spent to improve the lot of our people. This new situation makes out task all the more complex. We should realise that with our pre-existing limitation, the present situation is going to retard our efforts to give a better life to our children's children......

This arm race is going to lead to further aggravation of the situation and create further tension not only within the sub-continent but in sia at large. P. 471-472

(Important speeches and press conferences of Z.A Bhutto.)

In this speech Bhutto endorsed the idea to end arm race and work for the betterment of the country. Bhutto emphasized the need to solve problems to normalise relation. But did India cut her Budget? No. she did not. India simply paid lip service to the cause of peace whereas Bhutto stressed the need of peace even at this stage of history, but peace with honour. He assured India that Pakistan has no aggressive designs. But India persued her pre-determined policies and allocated more funds. Defence Minister of India Mr Jagjiwan Ram once again harped on the "myth of Pakistan's attack" while addressing Lok Sabha he said :

"New Dehli : The Indian Defence Minister Mr. Jugjiwan Ram, said here to-day that five year defence plan for 1974-79 was under preparation.

The D.M. said that a reapproach had been made in the light of the experience of 1971 war. Efforts are being made to upgrade equipmant and improve effectiveness of our forces.

Mr. Jugjiwan Ram alleged that Pakistan was replenishing her potential by raising new division and by acquiring "Large quantities" of air craft, tanks, guns, and other military hard ware. (Dawn : 22 April, 1973).

Daily "Morning News", Karachi, analysed the situation and discussed the New Indian Budget and criticised Indian preparations. The Newspaper said :

"Indian military Budget has already reached an awesome figure of Rs. 17 billion yet she has now embarked on a more ambitious five year defence plan which will turn the Indian war machine into a fearsome colones, The reason given by D.M. Jagjiwan Ram for such a huge military expenditure is neither logical nor supported by facts. He justified the current expenditure and the future outlay on defence by saying that this was made in the context of the Indian experience of 1971.

Imaginary threats for aggression from Pakistan and China all being offered as pretexts for the massive military build up. But nobody except Mr. Jugjiwan Ram has been speaking of a war.

Pakistan has given clear proof of her intention to live peacefully with India by signing the Simla Agreement and repeatedly asking New Delhi to fully implement it. Besides, any comparison between the military strength of India and Pakistan is grotesque. Pakistan military strength stands no comparison with the gigantic military might of India which has not only received massive arms aid from the U.S. but she also made large purchase from elsewhere. Pakistan's objective has been to maintain an armed force capable of defending his territory."

(29th April, 1973,)

We can judge the military imbalance by the statement of Deputy Secretary of State of U.S.A. Mr. Kenneth Rush. He stated on April 22, 1973 in New Delhi :

Deputy Secretary of state Kenneth Rush said here today that from 1965 till now the Soviet Military supplies to India were eight times more than U.S. what gave to the entire.

(Dawn 21th April 1973)

The Military position of Pakistan and India can be judged by the following data reproduced by daily "Nawai-Waqt" Lahore on April 19, 1973 :

INDIA

Population 57,10,00,000
(System of Voluntary recruitments instead of conscription)

National Income 1971 $ 49,00,40,00,000

Defence Budget 1972-73 Rs. 14,00,40,00,000

ARMY

Armoured Division 2

Independent Armoured Brigades 3

PAKISTAN

Population 5,13,00,000
(System of 2 years selective service)

Total Armed Forces 3,95,000
(out of these 93000 are POW's in India)

National Income 1971 $ 17,00,00,000

Defence Budget 1972 - 73 Rs. 4,46,00,000

ARMY

Total Land Force 2,78,000
(including 25000 that of Azad Kashmir)

Infantry Division	13
Mountain Division	10
Independent Infantry Brigade	6
Parachute Brigade	2
Anti aircraft Battery Unit	20
Centurian Tanks	200
Sherman Tanks	250
T 54 Tanks	450
4 - 55 Tanks	300
Vigiante Medium Tanks	150
Guns (Majority of them 25 pounders and the rest 100 MM, 105 MM & 130 MM)	300

NAVY

Aircraft carrier of 16000 tons	1
Russian Submarines	4
Cruisers	4
Russian Destroyers	8
Frigate	8
Petrol Gunboats	10
Mine-Sweepers	1
Troop carrierships	1
Troop carrier Boats	2
Gun boats of less than 100 Tons	11
Naval Freighter Bombers	79

AIR FORCE

Canberra Freighter Squadrons	4
Freighter-bombs Squadrons	17
MIG Squadrons	8
GNATT Squadrons	8
Reconnaisance Squadrons	2
Transport Squadrons	13
Miscellaneous Squadrons	32
Para troops	10,000

(Fighter Squadron consists of 12 to 16 Fighter)

Armoured Division	2
Infantry Division	10
Independent Armoured Division ? Bde ?	1
Air Defence Brigade	1
M 47 Tanks	135
M 48 Tanks	30
T 55 Tanks	200
Medium Tanks	140
M 24 Tanks	50
M 41 & 20 Pt	76
Light Tanks	250
M113 APC Tanks	100
Guns 25 Pounders and 105, 155 & 130 MM	100

NAVY

Submarines	3
Training Light Cruiser	1
Escort Destroyer	4
High Speed Frigate	2
Coastal Mine Sweaper	6
Patrol Boat	1
Supporting Naval Helicopters	2

AIR FORCE

Personnel	17,000
B 57 Light Bomber Squadrons	2
Mirage Fighter Bomber Squadrons	2
F 86 Fighter Bomber Squadrons	6
F 104 A Squadrons	1
Reconnaiscence aircraft	10
Transport Planes	9
Miscellaneous	35

(Fighter Squadron consists of 12 to 16 aircrafts)

Mig Squadron	7

Now it is evident that India has a big army as compared to Pakistan and under the circumstances it would be foolish to think that Pakistan can pose threat to the integrity of her neighbour. However, in this situation it would also be foolish to presume that Pakistan would ignore its defence requirements.

Z.A. Bhutto's point of view in this respect has been reported in an Interview to "Des Spiegel" on April 26, 1972 :

Q : "Mr. President, you say your Pakistan is longing for peace. Sometime you speak in other words. I think for example when you say that the honour of Pakistan has to be re-established that Pakistan should have again the finest fighting machine in Asia, do you think that good for a climate of peace ?

President : Well the point is this, that every people like to maintain high standards and especially those people who have had high standard. We are not going to boast about our standards in the military field, especially before the Germans, but we have had high standards and so if we want to retain and restore our high standards, that does not mean that we have aggressive intent in our mind and indication of national honour does come by so many methods by economic progress, by making Pakistan really a country which can show the world that its people are hard working ; that the per capita income here is the highest in the sub-continent that our people are progressive, that when you come to the sub-continent and you go to any part of it you find that the best facilities are available here. Our roads are good, our schools are good. So we can make our country into a modern, model, progressive country. There also we can vindicate our honour and show to the world that well we are a people who have efficient man power, good man-power able people. And it was in that context also I said that we wanted to restore to Pakistan its standards in the military field because certainly we don't want to go down in the world with a bad reputation and a reputation that we lost one part of our country and that we will not be able to defend another part of our country. This was a fluke which happened, more on accout of the circumstances.

We don't want to go to war with any one but we also want to retain those standards which our peoples tradition and history amply justify."

"Q : well, Mr. Pre : good aramament in such a large scale, in such a massive scale, would harm, I think, the social and economic progress of the country. So can you have fine fighting machine with all the arms you need again and at the same time have progress in social and economic matters in the country.

Pre :- Yes, I agree but the point is that now our position is reduced economically than it was in the past and nevertheless the Indian Govt. recently has increased its military budget. I can't understand that because now in a small size and our resources more limited, our foreign exchange has also been cut as a result of our loss of jute and other thing. But nevertheless a substantial increase was made in the defence budget of India this year when they presented this budget to parliament. So that leaves us with no choice. Why should India increase her budget inspite of the changed circumstances ? So that answers your question. Secondly, if India reduces her budget then, and if there is no possibility of war and our disputes are solved, we will reduce our budget also. I hope because we are intensive more in economic development and in social welfare and a reduced army can also be an efficient army."

(P. 64-65 Speeches and Statements)

Z.A. Bhutto in an interview to Australian Broadcasting Corporation on May 14, 1972, emphasized on building strong army to restore peace in the sub-continent. He said :

"Q. you said, Mr. Pres : that there's a need to rebuild the Army. you said more emphatically that you never intend to disarm. Again, that could appear to some to be a contradiction between your reason for durable peace. Now is it a contradiction ?

Pre : No, because U.S. made its best search for a durable peace when armed to the teeth I don't say the anology holds good for us but at the same time you can't disarm completely and yet

undertake that search. Besides, India inspite of the events of last year, has increased her defence budget. I can't close my eyes to that factor''.

P. 116

(Speeches and statement)

Z.A. Bhutto convincingly expressed his point of view about the defence of Pakistan and awami force, defence of Pakistan and Political & Economic factors, defence of Pakistan and the changed conditions of sub-continent. He stressed the need to build strong Army with sound political and economic basis. Now it should be clear that when Bhutto talks about peace he does not ignore defence and when he wishes to build a strong army he does not put aside the chances to restore peace. According to his point of view peace with honour is only possible when nation is economically, politically and militarily strong otherwise peace will be imposed upon her in a disgraceful manner. If we assess his role in this context we come to appreciate his achievement in this field because now the situation is entirely different as compared to that of 1970. In 1970 Pakistan had lost her reputation. But Bhutto's entry into the political arena of Pakistan as President changed her position. He endeavoured to regain Pakistan's political and economic strength and tried to repair the dents in the military reputation. To achieve these objectives Bhutto mobilised the machine of foreign policy and made frantic efforts to attain new understanding with other nations in changed conditions of the world.

Bhutto visited Peking and gained assurance from the prime Minister of China for safeguarding Pakistan's integrity and independence. He mended relations with the U.S.A. America lifted the ban clamped on the supply of arms to Pakistan. Secretary of State, Mr. William Rogers and President Nixon assured Pakistan of their help in hour of need. President Nixon in his Foreign Policy Report of May 1973 said :-

"As I stated in my Report last year our concerns the well being and security of the people of Pakistan does not end with the end of

crisis. The United States has always had a close and warm relationship with Pakistan and we have a strong interest to-day in seeing it build a new future.

P. 146

(United States Foreign Policy for the 1973)

It was a great achievement of Z.A. Bhutto that he established relation with countries in a new situation. He tried to further strengthen ties with Iran. He visited Iran in May 1973 and opened up new avenues of cordial relations. The joint communique released simultaneously from Tehran and Islamabad expressed desire for promotion of even more close relation between the two countries,. It was clearly stated in that communique that both the countries will stand side by side in hour of need.

"The two Heads of the States noted that relations between their brother countries were developing on satisfactory lines and they decided that existing co-operation between Iran and Pakistan should be further expanded. They resolved that their countries would resolutely stand by each other in all matters bearing on the internal independence and the territorial integrity.

(The Pakistan Times May 15, 1973)

There is misunderstanding in India about my confrontationist position. I was a confrontation man, when it was in our interest. Today it is not so. From confrontation I have come to consultation and negotiation".

Z. A. Bhutto

Bhutto & Pak-India Relations

Bhutto & Pak-India Relations

Two extreme situations conjure up before our minds when we talk about Bhutto and Pak-India relations. First, when he declared to fight for a thousand years against India. Second, when after assuming power Bhutto expressed desire to normalise relations with India. Ostensibly, these two positions seem contradictory because they are located at extreme ends. However, when we evaluate and analyse the entire situation in the framework of historical events, Bhutto's stand does not embody any contradiction. On the contrary, his stance indicates political realism.

In order to fully grasp Bhutto's journey from confrontation with India to rapprochment, we have to take into account the entire background.

Bhutto's declaration of a thousand years confrontation with India was prompted by his impregnable desire to safeguard the integrity and independence of Pakistan in the face of Indian jingoistic designs and was not motivated by an attitude of bellecosity and aggression on his part.

Pakistan and India have thrice gone to war resulting in deep rooted hostility among the peoples of two neighbouring countries. The people of Pakistan have always remained apprehensive of Indian expansionistic designs. Dacca's annexation by India in November 1971 war has clearly shown the long cherished Indian desire to dismember Pakistan whose coming into being has never been accepted by Indian leadership. In view of such ominous intentions of Bharat there was a great need to keep up the determination of Pakistani populace. This was the reason why Z.A. Bhutto

raised the slogan of a thousand years war with India during his speech in the Security Council on September 22, 1965. At that time both the countries had fought a bloody war following Indian attack on Pakistani borders. Viewed in this specific political context, Bhutto's courageous slogan was in conformity with the sentiment prevailing during that period. He said :

"We will wage war for a thousand years, a war of defence. I told that to the Security Council a year ago when that body, in all its wisdom and in all its powers, was not prepared to give us even a resolution. The Security Council felt that we had brought a dead horse to this Council, that we were trying to make internal propaganda. But the world will know that the 100 million people of Pakistan will never abandon their pledges and promises. The Indian may adandon their pledges and promises. We shall never abandon ours, irrespective of our size and of our resources. We shall fight to the end, but we shall fight in self-defence. We shall fight for honour. We are not aggressor, we are the victim of aggression".

P : 291-292

(Important speeches and Press Conferences of Z.A. Bhutto).

Following Sino-Indian clash in 1962, America rushed with heavy arms aid towards India. America also started pressurising Pakistan to accept Indian hegemony with a view to contain China. However, Pakistan resisted American pressure and told her frankly that normalisation of relations with India was not possible without the removal of basic disputes between the two countries. Z.A. Bhutto who was then the Foreign Minister played an important part in resisting American pressure. America stopped arms aid to Pakistan as a result of latter's growing relations with China. In January, 1966, Pakistan and India signed 'Tashkent Declaration' on the instance of USSR. Bhutto saw through the Russo-Indian game and expressed dis-pleasure over the agreement. After his resignation he publically denounced the agreement. His denouncement was in unison with the prevailing indignation of Pakistani people. The new political consciousness created in the people by Z.A. Bhutto resulted in the ouster of Ayub Khan.

Ayub was succeeded by General Yahya Khan who provided opportunity for the practical display of Indian aggression because of his condemnable military action against the people of East Pakistan. India physically occupied the Eastern part of Pakistan. This proved the apprehensions looming large in the minds of Pakistanis since 1947 which were echoed by Bhutto by advancing the slogan of a thousand years war with India. He expressed his views in his book, "Myth of Independence", as : "It has taken 20 years and two wars to establish the separate identity of our state with its population of over a hundred and 20 million yet there are people who still lament the partition of the Sub-continent, portraying Pakistan as the prodigal son who will some day return to the bosom of Bharat Mata". (P-180) And further : "India tried to prevent Pakistan's coming into being, but failed. After independence, she imposed an economic blockade in order to destory our economy, a manoeuvre that not only failed to break, but actually strengthened Pakistan".

Z.A. Bhutto had the following motives behind his policy of confrontation with India :—

1. The preservation of territorial integrity of Pakistan.
2. The resistance of American pressure on Pakistan to accept Indian leadership.
3. Advancement of national interests in the face of big powers game to use Pakistan as a pawn.

Since 1971 war the situation has undergone a change. Similarly, Bhutto's policy of confrontation with India has changed. It may very well be asked as to how Bhutto has moved from confrontation to negotiations with India ? Have the basic disputes between Pakistan and India been resolved ? If the disputes remain as such then why Bhutto talks of peace with India ?

There is no denying the fact that Pak-Indian disputes do exist as before and that Indian attitude towards Pakistan is still aggressive and she wants to see the latter weak and in a position of perpetual reeling. It is a fact that the

separation of East Pakistan has tilted the balance of power in favour of India militarily and politically. Another fact is that three wars between India and Pakistan have not been able to solve disputes resulting in enmity between the two countries. These internecine wars have led to economic and social impoverishment of both the countries. These are the realities audaciously recognised and accepted by Z.A. Bhutto which have made him adopt a *realistic* approach towards seeking peace with honour with India. It should be borne in mind that Bhutto's policy of confrontation with India was as conditional as is his quest for friendship with India now. Bhutto has never ruled out the possibility of friendly relations with India. He has always wanted such relations to be founded on justice and recognition of mutual rights. Bhutto has expressed his views pertaining to good-neighbourly relations with India in his book, "Myth of Independence" : "It would be wrong, however, to conclude that under no circumstances would Pakistan want to cooperate with India. The bonds of geography, history and culture are not to be denied. In view of our eagerness to improve our relations with countries and neighbours alike, it would be natural to try to improve relations with India. However, in order to be productive, cooperation must be on the basis of true equality between Nations which have no prejudices against each other and no territorial or other fundamental disputes. Cooperation cannot co-exist with injustice. Would it have been possible for the British to cooperate on the basis of inequality and domination with Indian people before independence as for France to cooperate with Algeria under colonial conditions ? India does not have genuine cooperation in mind when she talks of collaboration——is the quarrel with India eternal ? Eternal quarrels don't exist but eternal interests". (P. 186).

And further :—

" This does not mean that Pakistan does not want a settlement with India ; indeed, Pakistan fervently seeks peace with India, but the settlement must be honourable and on the basis of equality. Once the disputes are resolved in a spirit of understanding and according to norms of justice, Pakistan would be prepared to cooperate



President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mrs Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India shaking hands after singning agreement at Simla on July 3, 1972

with India on terms of mutual benefit. However, this cooperation must be between two sovereign independent Nations and not dictated by global powers for their own ends. India and Pakistan must be left free to shape their own futures in peace. If their disputes are resolved honourably outside the interplay of global policies, no one in Pakistan will object to cooperation between the two nations."

Z.A. Bhutto in an interview to the BBC on February 10, 1972, said : **Interviewer** :—"You have always taken a very hard line against India. In 1965 when relations were particularly bad over Kashmir, you called her a "Feeble, flippant, decadent society and when you were electioneering before the last elections here, you promised to your men two things———redistribution of wealth and a thousand years war against India. How important is it to you to be able to work out some sort of modus vivendi with India" ?

President :—"This is important, even when my posture was different, when I was preaching confrontation, there was a theme in that confrontation. The confrontation would be inevitable until the fundamental disputes are still to be settled, if not by confrontation, by consultations and negotiations. An imposed peace will simply not work. The situation has changed radically".

(President Bhutto's interview to foreign correspondents. P. 6)

Bhutto in an interview to 'Times of India' and the 'Indian Express, on March 14, 1972, said :—

Interviewer :—"How will be the future brighter ? There is a good deal of mutual suspicion.

President :—"There are two ways in which you can do it, first to learn the lesson from the pre-partition attitudes of our leaders, their failures and successes. They are giants and can be criticised by none. Secondly, the events of last 25 years and the manner in which that had made or unmade our countries. We are to proceed progressively, frankly speaking, and it is my evaluation that our people want peace. They want to turn their back on past animosities. This feeling has not generated because of military defeat but because of the economic conditions prevailing in the Sub-continent

and the peoples desires to improve them. I am going to make genuine efforts, a genuine search. As for your past, you should take into account that we suffered because of outcome of the war and we are a smaller country. The bigger country should have a bigger heart. We have to find solutions. If we find smaller solutions we will also find bigger solutions. This does not mean that I want to avoid major issues. But the time is the vital factor.

Interviewer :— "You have been in favour of confrontation. Have you changed".

President :—I am not ashamed of confrontation. I believe that like your Prime Minister we must primarily think of the interest of our own country and our own people. Now let me explain the policy of confrontation. Pakistan was a member of two defence alliances, but we were getting the raw end of stick. We were diplomatically isolated, isolated in the third world. Internally people were wanting to know what advantages the alliances had brought. There were no political gains, but there were military gains. We thought that being in those pacts, let us derive the benefits of those pacts. There was a time when militarily in terms of big push we were superior to India because of the military assistance we were getting—that was the position upto 1965. Now the Kashmir dispute was not being resolved peacefully, we had the military advantage and you were getting the blame for it. So it was political prudence to say : Let us finish it once for all and come to terms just as you know that the problem has been finished. That was the reason while upto 1965 it was thought that with this edge we could finish this problem because even morally we felt justified since India had agreed to the right of self-determination earlier. Now the position does not exist any more. (P. 9, P. 23)

Bhutto told Mahboob K. Ajmi of the "Kuwait Times" in an interview on May 26, 1972:

Interviewer :—"To clear the mess created by the war, and to steer Pakistan out, as smoothly as possible, of the highly complicated post war situation, your excellency has shown exceptional



President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Mrs. Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister of India signing agreement on conclusion of Summit Conference at Simla on July, 3, 1972.

flexibility, more perhaps than was expected in many quarters. Would your excellency now define the limits to which your country would go, and beyond which India should ask no more, for the sake of settling all outstanding mutual differences, including the all important question of Kashmir.

President :—"Pakistan wants a durable peace with India, and to achieve this end, we are prepared to take practical measures to end the confrontation, restore normal lines and make a beginning towards good neighbourly relations. Any settlement must, however, be based on justice and equity because history shows that a dictated peace is always short lived. While we believe that all outstanding issues should be settled, it is my opinion that problems which have persisted for 25 years and have a historical background cannot be solved in one go. A practical and pragmatic approach will be to proceed step by step. If a new era of peace and tranquillity is to begin in the sub-continent, we will have to trust each other in a spirit of equality." (P. 151)

These interviews bear eloquent testimony to the fact that :

1. Bhutto has a clear understanding of the changed political conditions of the sub-continent.
2. Bhutto wants to synchronise his political actions with these changes and wishes to burry the past prejudices between the two countries.
3. Bhutto wants a peaceful solution of disputes marring relations between the two neighbours.
4. Bhutto wants peace between the two countries based on justice, equity and mutual respect and not one imposed on Pakistan.
5. Bhutto wants to dispel the atmosphere of suspicion, misunderstandings and recrimination between the two countries thereby creating conditions for mutural trust.

If we analyse various statements of Z.A. Bhutto we can easily understand and appreciate his journey from confrontation to cooperation with India.

Further more, the international politics has undergone such a drastic change that it essentially affects the relations between smaller countries. The policy of confrontation has been supplanted by that of negotiation on international level. America is trying to establish good relations with China. Vietnam war has come to an end. Russia is striving for better understanding with America and European countries. North and South Korea, East and West Germany have turned towards negotiation. In view of these changing international political scenes it is sheer nonsense to rule out the chances of good relations with India because we have a history of 25 years animosity. In the words of Bhutto, "diplomacy is a flexible art, the thing which appears to be impossible today is possible tomorrow".

In his address to the National Assembly on July 9, 1973, Z.A. Bhutto concluded as :—

"It is my hope that both India and Bangladesh will reciprocate this spirit of ours. If they do, they will respond to the call of the contemporary age. It is an age of detente and reconciliation, not of belligerency and strife. It is an age when the new generation all over the world has rejected the philosophies of hate. Those who fought each other at Stalingrad are now engaged in dialogues of peace. Those who considered each other's ideology anasthema are now resolved to pursue the paths of peaceful co-existence and mutual non-interference, surely, what divides India and Pakistan is not some thing more than what divided the Soviet Union and Germany or the United States and the Soviet Union or China and the United States. Surely, an antagonism between Pakistan and India is not inherent in their very existence, I say to my people, as I would say to the people of India. Do not be sworn to eternal hostility against each other, if you do, only your common enemy, which is squalor and poverty, will triumph. It is time for the peoples of the Sub-Continent to mount a challenge and give battle to that real foe."

('The Pakistan Times', July 10, 1973)

"America was suspicious of our friendship with China. It does not mean we are not friendly to the United States. Now there is friendship between China and United States".

Z.A. Bhutto

Bhutto & Pak-USA Relations

Bhutto and Pak-U.S.A. relations

From 1963 to 1973, Z.A. Bhutto, at various occasions, criticised American policy towards Pakistan. Due to his bitter criticism many people started taking him as one of anti-American politicians of Pakistan. But when the cycles of events changed and he took over as the President of Pakistan on 20th December, 1971, he changed his attitude towards U.S.A. and announced the opening of a new chapter of relations between the two countries. He said that America would play an important role in the changing scene of political drama of Asia. The moment Bhutto came out with this new approach towaıds Pak-American relations, those who used to like him as an anti-American politician became unhappy and critical. This criticism levelled against Bhutto might be true from ideological viewpoint, but we cannot decry this approach keeping in view the compulsions of practical politics.

The trends in politics have changed and now theoratical and ideological considerations are deemed less important than national interests. In international politics, the relationship between two big communist giants, Russia and China, has met palpable deterioration. If we analyse Bhutto's new approach in view of the global political situation, then only we can appreciate the decision which he took in the context of Pak-American relations. Now when Bhutto pleads for close relations with America he recognises the reality of today and when he pieviously criticised American policy he recognised the reality of yesterday. There is much difference between the political situation of today and the yesterday. Without analysing the political situation, in which Z.A. Bhutto criticised American policy, we cannot understand his politics.

Similarly, if we ignore the realities which forced him to change his attitude, we cannot grasp the new trends in foreign policy of Pakistan.

The previous Governments of Pakistan opted to enter into Defence Pacts with America and other Western countries. American interest after Second World War was mainly to stop the advancement of communism, particularly in reference to China and Russia. To achieve this objective of Foreign Policy, America tied so many countries with Defence Pacts. America had its own interest, while Pakistan was motivated by her own. Pakistan joined these pacts simply to seek shelter against lurking Indian aggression. Pakistan received military as well as economic assistance under these pacts. Pakistan was considered deserving for this type of assistance because she became a camp-follower of the West. Ex-President of Pakistan, President Ayub Khan has analysed this situation which existed in early fifties. He says in his book "Friends, Not Masters": "The equation between the United States of America and Pakistan has been one of close friendship and alliance. This equation was firmly established by the time I became President. I was certainly associated with those elements in it which had a direct bearing on the Defence Services but the essential content was determined by the political leaders. My non-thinking at that time was that it was natural for the United States to be deeply interested in the welfare and safety of smaller powers in Asia. My reasoning was that the Soviet Union and Peoples Republic of China and even India, inspite of her serious internal weaknesses, would like to create and extend that spheres of influence, and it was unlikely that they would be able to agree on the kind and extent of influence that each one of them would exercise. They would, however, have agreed on one thing and that was not to let the United States, an off-shore power, have any permanent foothold in Asia.

Now, wedged in between these three big countries are a number of small nations, starting from Turkey, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and extending to Nepal, Burma, Malaysia, Indonesia Philippine and Korea. These are strips of geography caught between morass of

land and their main concern, quite naturally, is their own security. It was not un-reasonable to assume that these smaller nations would be looking for such friends as might help them in prejecting themselves. Assuming that the United States too wanted to have an area of influence in Asia, it was logical for her to present herself as a natural friend to countries like Pakistan. For some time the United States policy conformed to this line of thinking, but with the emergence of the Peoples Republic of China, as an Asian power and more particularly after the conflict between India and China, over the questions of border demarcation, the United States thinkings and policies in Asia underwent a complete and fundamental change.

The United States thinkers and planners developed an anxiety to build up certain countries in Asia as bulwark against China. They selected Japan and India for this purpose. Building up India meant providing her with vast quantities of military hardware which naturally created a sense of apprehension among her smaller neighbours. Since Pakistan was regarded by India as her enemy Number One, Pakistan was first to be affected by the change in American policy". (P. 130)

And then:—"Gradually, as a result of this change in American thinking, neutral India became by far the largest recipient of U.S. economic aid while she continued freely to castigate the United States in the United Nations and outside, whenever opportunity offered. Pakistan watched this transformation in American Foreign Policy with increasing perplexity and dismay. Our concern arose from the fact that the Indian military build up was aimed largely against Pakistan". (P. 132)

Further:—"Until 1962, however, the policy of the United States continued to distinguish between a non-aligned India and the American ally, Pakistan. Although under a mutual defence assistance agreement signed in 1951 (reaffirmed in 1956) India also was receiving military aid from the United States without accepting any of the obligations that devolve on an ally and a neutral".

Ayub Khan who fell for the U.S.A. wholeheartedly, recorded the development of relations between the two countries, U.S.A. and

Pakistan. Bhutto had not then taken charge as Foreign Minister. But the situation had taken a new turn and few important events had taken place in the region. America felt inclined towards India to contain China. U.S.A. rushed towards India after the border conflict between China and India in 1962, to assist the latter in economic and military fields. Pakistan protested but U.S. ignored her ally. The next important change in American attitude was that she adopted such a policy regarding the Kashmir dispute which favoured the national interest of India.

The emergence of communist China as a rising big power created a political situation which brought India and U.S.A. closer. This new alliance between a so-called non-aligned India and U.S.A. was a logical result of the border conflict between China and India in 1959 and later in 1962. At this stage new political situation had arisen. Pakistan took serious notice of American betrayal and assessed situation in its true perspective. It was a bitter experience in the history of Pakistan. As a result, she had to recognise the geo-political realities, keeping in view her immediate and permanent national interests. In this complicated situation, Z.A. Bhutto entered political scene as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan. He took some new decisions in the new political situation and moved swiftly in order to strengthen relations with China.

Bhutto went to China to negotiate about some undefined Sino-Pak border. He attained success and signed documents demarcating border between the two countries on March, 1963. His role as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan was extremely important at this juncture because the conflicting interests of global powers in this region created such a situation which was favourable to India. America was all out to contain China. The Russian motive was also there to gain more influence in comparison to China and U.S.A. At this stage when this situation posed a threat to the independence of Pakistan, it became important for her to associate herself with countries having mutual and identical interests. Hence the promotion of good relations with communist China. This created a new balance of power in the region. On the one hand, Russia and America were assistig India for their own ends, on the other Pakistan joined

hands with China. Her main aim was to seek protection rather than to face the hard winds of political climate. But American Government who had always reckoned Pakistan as one of her camp followers did not like this independent decision of Pakistan. She pressurised Pakistan by direct and indirect methods. She looked determined to force Pakistan to accept the leadership of India. Pakistan preferred to disassociate herself from America rather than to compromise her integrity, independence and sovereignty. This sense of independence on the part of Pakistan annoyed America tremendously. She tried to put pressures upon Pakistan in 1965 in the form of postponing consortium meeting. After September 1965 war, U.S.A. decided to impose ban on the supply of ammunition to both the countries of Sub-continent. This was in the interest of India because she was already getting arms in large quantity not only from America but also from USSR and other Western countries. Pakistan protested against this decision and informed the U.S.A. that the decision would prove detrimental to the interests of Pakistan because America was the only major arm supplier to Pakistan. U.S.A. however, stuck to her policy obdurantly and refused to revise her arbitrary decision. Pakistani leaders and particularly Bhutto, the then Foreign Minister, evaluated the situation in the perspective of American global interests and drew conclusion that U.S.A. being a global power could not disengage herself from this line of action. To America the independence of a small country was of secondary nature and her global interests were of prime interest. Z.A. Bhutto realised that at that stage Pakistan must stand to assert her national will with full determination and act confidently in view of her own national interest.

Mr. Lawrence Zeiring has analysed this situation in his book, "The Ayub Khan Era": "United States arms shipments to India intensified Anti-American feeling in Pakistan and the President wanted someone with support among the students and urban intelligentsia and Z.A. Bhutto's performance up through Ayub's re-election in January, 1965, leaves no doubt that he served a very useful purpose. Bhutto unlike the President but undoubtedly with his current, pub-

lically castigated the U.S. He also openly supported a number of new organisations such as the Pakistan Afro-Asian Society whose Anti-American issue became its raison detre while the President had no intention of duplicating his styles, all this was considered good domestic politics. Nevertheless a new problem had arisen, Bhutto accummulated a follower of his own.

"The new Foreign Minister was a true representative of the educated and determined young generation, He was one of them, spoke their language, knew their thoughts, and shared their aspirations. It would not be in error to suggest that he, like so many intellectuals, found socialist policies appealing and this re-inforced his prejudice against things Western. Bhutto was often carried away by his own rhetoric, and his emotionally charged speeches were often more than Ayub had bargained for. But even then the Foreign Minister was an asset". (P. 49)

Zeiring also analysed the situation which emerged after Septembər 1965 war. His analysis reflects Bhutto's attitude in particular reference to Pak-American relations.

He said :—"In Mr. Bhutto's opinion Pakistan could no longer rely on the U.S.A. or the western nations. The American decision to force a postponement of the AID to Pakistan consortium in July, 1965, was still another reason for the irritation. The events of the preceding months were proof positive that India's interest would never be sacrificed for those of Pakistan. Hence China's support should be exploited in order to gain some leverage with the Soviet Union. If this was done carefully the Soviet Union might concievably curtail its arms shipment to India and in turn make Pakistan a recipient of largess. Bhutto was adament that Pakistan must seek China's assistance. Ayub gave considerable thought to Bhutto's appraisal of the contingencies and of his recommendations but at the last minute decided to disregard his advice". (P. 66)

"Z.A. Bhutto behaved in a situation which he inherited from the preceding decade. He kept up the national interest of Pakistan and moved with confidence. He critised American attitude and

made sincere endeavours. Z.A. Bhutto elaborated this situation in specific reference to American policy in his book " Myth Of Independence" and clearly stated that the American interests were not identical with those of Pakistan. He wrote :

"The United States attitude will continue to stiffen until Pakistan agrees to its terms or draws a line and says. "Thus for and no further. The latest example of the United Staes 'please punch' strategy is the committment on Tarbela made to placate Pakistan. The inevitable punch followed on 12th April, 1967, when the stoppage of military assistance was announced. Whether Pakistan is in a position to alter the present course of its relation with United States can only be known when resistance is offered. Pakistan's national interest must be safeguarded, even at the expense of displeasing the United States. This does not mean that Pakistan has physically to confront the powers of the U.S. political but only that we have to make it resolutely clear by diplomatical and economic means that we will never permit the gradual erosion of our national interests. Such a stand would require internal adjustment and sacrifices but not, necessarily, lasting tension with U.S.A. one passing crisis is preferable to a succession of crisis punctuated by periodical respites, leading to an ineluctable emergency, when it might beyond Pakistan means to redeem its position." (P. 87)

Z.A. Bhutto wanted to resist American pressures and not to give in. His policy was the logical result of American policy which became a source of tension in this area. He believes in objective realities and changing political conditions. His political action is conditioned with the said elements of political phenomena. When we say that Bhutto opposed America we mean to say that he was forced to behave like that due to historic compulsions and changing political realities.

With the end of dictatorial rule of Yahya Khan, Pakistan entered into a new political situation. Bhutto took over on 20th

December, 1970. The complexion which emerged was entirely different not only in the sub-continent but also on global level. The new situation was keenly assesed by Bhutto, the former Foreign Minister and the new President of Pakistan. He responded to the new situation and took a new start in announcing the opening of new chapter of close relations between USA and Pakistan. The changed conditions forced Bhuttto to revise his policy vis a vis America. However, we cannot fully understand his new approach towards America unless we grasp the new and changed political situation of the world and particularly that of the sub-continent,

First and most important change that took place in early seventies was the improvement of relations between the two big powers, America and China. The basic and principal contradiction was there but without compromising their ideological commitments both the countries agreed to co-operate in certain fields. America at large recognised the reality of China, speedily emerging as a global power. She accepted the claim of communist China over Taiwan. U S. who few years back adopted the policy of containment of China was ultimately forced by the new realities to recognise the importance of China in world politics and particularly in the policies of Asia. At this stage Russia was emerging as a more powerful naval force and rapidly boosting its military strength. Russia demonstrated her military strength not only in Indian Ocean but also in Middle East and in the oil rich area of Persian Gulf. In this perspective, American intention to repair her relations with China clearly indicates that U.S.A. intends to gain middle position. We cannot deny this fact that America is also interested to avoid armament race and desires to open a new chapter of economic expansionism to achieve these objectives. America wishes to eliminate the chance of atomic war. To save the world from destruction by atomic war, President Nixon took a new start by visiting Peking and Moscow. This situation also changed the nature of relations between the two countries, America and Pakistan.

The gulf between Pakistan and America had widened when Pakistan in past had decided to move towards China. But now President Nixon's tour of Peking in 1972 has changed the situation and removed the basic point of difference between the two countries. The gulf has narrowed and relations have entered a new phase. Here we must appreciate Bhutto's political vision who had visualised the situation and had predicted a few years past that the change was inevitable and America would have to recognise the reality of China. He wrote in his small book, "Pakistan and the Alliances": "Pakistan will have to resist the pressures and wait for a change in the International situation. That change is definitely coming and not in the distant future either. Whatever the immediate problems the future course in Asia cannot be settled without China's participation and to China's detriment". (P. 37)

He further writes in, "Myth of Independence": "When relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union were unfriendly, equally great opposition was offered to the development of friendly relations between Pakistan and the Soviet Union. It is only when relations between the two super powers improved that the objection disappeared. When relations between China and U.S. take a more realistic turn, the U.S. may be less hostile to Pakistan friendly relations with China. If Pakistan were now to take provocative steps against China, her position would be the more perilous when relations between China and the United States improved". (P. 134)

The situation changed. The enemies of 'yesterday' tried to normalise their relations. Pakistan's policy towards China, which was not liked in America, proved its worth and stood the test of time. The new political situation offered new opportunities. Bhutto's plea regarding Pakistan policy towards China was identical with the national interest reflecting geo-political realities and his splendid foresight.

We cannot ignore certain important developments in the sub-continent that took place because of various political changes. One of them was that India, the so-called exponent of non-alignment, left the line openly and entered into a pact with Russia. Earlier

India posed her as a 'non-aligned' country and benefitted not only from USSR but also from America. The August 1971 Pact between India and Russia altered the situation. The new relationship between the two countries alarmed America. There is no denying the fact that Indian tried to play the game of Russia and moved in for stabalising Russian position in Asia. The Government of USSR has always been anxious to consolidate herself in this area. Besides, she is interested to control the Indian Ocean, her long time dream.

The other important change took place in this region due to the deterioration of internal conditions in East Pakistan. India attacked Pakistan and occupied her territory. The events show that India has always posed a threat to Pakistan's independence. The Indian military preparation backed by U.S.A. was exposed in 1965. She was not preparing herself against China but to attack and undo Pakistan. American finally realised and took initiative to mend U.S.A-Pak relations. U.S.A. aided Pakistan in economic field the details of which are :—

U.S. ECONOMIC A ASSISTANCE TO PAKISTAN ASSISTANCE PROVIDED

JANUARY 1, 1972—FEBRUARY 28, 1973

		Million Dollars	
PL-480, Title I and Title II			
Title I——Wheat (1, 350,000 metric tons)		95.6	
	Vegetable oil (55,000 metric tons)	15.3	
	Other commodities.	5.6	116.5
Title II——War DPs			
	Wheat (78,000 metric tons)	12.3	
	Other commodities.	1.7	14.0
Regular Program			
UNICEF		0.5	
CARE		0.2	0.7
	Grand Total :		131.2
Development Lending and Indus Basin			
Commodity loans		100.0	



Mr. Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Governor of the Punjab, delivering President Bhutto's Message to President Nixon.

Fertilizer loan	20.0	
Indus Basin (loans 22.8, grant 21.6)	44.4	164.4
Technical Assistance and Population		3.0
Gash Grant for DPs		0.3
Total through February 28, 1973		298.9
Agreement signed March 19, PL-480		
Title I——Vegetable oil (10,000 metric tons)		5.1
Grand Total :		304.0

Huge amount was given to stabilise the economy of Pakistan. The next important step was taken by Pakistan Government when Punjab Governor, Malik Ghulam Mustafa Khar, Bhutto's reliable friend and his right hand man, accompanied by Aziz Ahmad, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs and Defence, left for U.S.A. to negotiate the lifting of ban which was imposed on Arms supply to Pakistan and India. The mission proved fruitful. The ban was lifted by the American Government. This decision was widely lauded by Pakistani people, but the Indian Government showed uneasiness over it. When Deputy Secretary of State, Mr. Kenneth Rush, visited New Delhi he was asked to clarify the position but he categorically rejected Indian plea:

"New Delhi DPR 121 (PP1/FP 46 Deputy Secretary of State Kenneth Rush said here today before leaving for Colombo after one day visit to India that the U.S. would make no commitment that it would not supply arms to Pakistan but would do what we think best in the context of promoting peace and reconciliation among India, Pakistan and Bangla Desh. (The Pakisstan Times dated April 22, 1973)."

Mr. Richard Nixon when he was Vice-President showed leaning toward Pakistan in order to counter India. This has been stated by Bhutto in his book "Myth of Indepedence": "According to United States News World Report of 4 January, 1954, Vice-President Nixon tended to favour military aid to Pakistan as a counter force to confirmed neutralism of Jawaharlal Nehru's India". (P. 43).

The then Vice-President of U.S.A. is now the Head of State. He has evinced keen interest in the well being of Pakistani people. He stated in a foreign policy report of 1970 Febuary 18: "while we will maintain our interests in Asia and the commitment that flow from them, the changes taking place in that region enable us to change the character of our involvement. The responsibilites once borne by the United State at such great cost can now be shared. America can be effective in helping the people of Asia, harness the forces of change to peaceful progress, and in supporting them as they defend themselves from those who would sublet this process and fling Asia again into conflict. Our new co-operative relationship concerns primarily to areas of challenge-military threat and the great task of development." (P. 11).

President Nixon expressed his views about defence: "The United States will keep all its treaty commitments. We shall provide a shield if a nuclear power threatened the freedom of a nation allied with us or of a nation whose survival we consider vital to our security and the security of the region as a whole. In cases involving other types of aggression we shall furnish military and economic assistance when requested and as appropriate. But we shall look to the nation directly threatened to assure the primary responsibility of providing the manpower for its defence". (P. 11)

He further said in his report: "In South Asia our good relations with India and Pakistan should obscure the concrete dilemma we will face. How can we bring it to both, for example, our serious concern over the waste of their limited resources in an arms race yet recognise this legitimate interests in self defence". (P. 4)

President Nixon favoured the policy of alliances and said on June 2, 1972: "The U.S. News world report maintaining the strength, integrity and steadfastness of our free world alliances is the foundation on which all of our other initiative for peace and security in the world must rest. As we seek better relation with those who have been our friends and allies around the world",

To understand Mr. Nixon's mind it is better to know as to what is the American attitude towards Pakistan in respect of economic and military requirements. Did any change take place in her attitude and how can we utilize this policy to our national interest ? In this regard we should try to understand the American point of view expressed in foreign policy report of American Secretary for State, Mr. William Rogers on April 20, 1973. He said: "Pakistan, Bangla Desh and India will all have an important influence and effect upon Asian stability. We will continue our strong support for the viability and co-operation of Pakistan because of our long standing relationship and because of its importance to the stability of entire region. (P. 9)

Further : "Intra regional friction in South Asia has triggered heavy defence expenditure and diverted scarce resources from the development process. As the relations improved, India and Pakistan should be able to reduce defence outlay and focus more fully on arresting the expectation of their peoples for better life". (P. 46)

Further :—"The United States resumed economic assistance to Pakistan as that country sought to re-establish a viable economy after the loss of East Pakistan and other war dislocation. During the year total new financial commitments amounted to approximately 210 million dollars 120 million dollars worth of Agricultural products under Public Law 480 ; a 60 million dollars commodity loan and 30 million dollars for technical assistance and debt rescheduling". (P. 48)

This over all analysis of the situation clearly indicates that Pak-American relations have entered a new phase. New realities and identical interests have brought the countries close. If we compare the new phase with the old one which existed in 1962, we can conclude :—

1. Main cause of difference between Pakistan and America has been removed by the historic visit of President Nixon to Peking in February, 1972. Now America has a better understanding of relations between Pakistan and China.

2. The second major difference between the two countries was the ban which was imposed by U.S.A. in 1967. But America has now revised this policy in changed political conditions and lifted the ban.

3. American economic assistance to Pakistan was also important factor to inspire new faith and close relationship between the two countries. These factors prompted Pakistan and American Governments to explore new avenues of mutual relationship. It was declared by President Bhutto that the new relationship had strengthened due to mutual interests of the two countries.

In an interview to the American broadcasting Corporation on May 14, 1972, Bhutto said :

Interviewer : "Well inspite of the current situation in the Far East Mr. President, American long-range policy is one of dis-engagement. Are you concerned that United States may not honour its commitments to Pakistan in the future" ?

President : No, I think the U S. will come to its own policy objective in the interest of the non-national interest and its global interests and the U.S. is quite capable of taking care of her objective interests".

Interviewer : "Is it valid to suggest, Mr. President that Pakistan is a valuable asset to the U.S. as long as the Russians wish to have a land route to the Indian Ocean ?"

President:" Well, that's an over-simplification. I think that inherently people are valuable and if we approach problem on these lines, think the long term interests of the whole world, world be better served. We are a nation still of 60 million, if East Paistan separates from us. An extremely important part of the world. And all of these factors I am sure are in the consideration of not only the U.S. but also the other great powers".

Mr. Z.A. Bhutto in another interview to American Broadcasting Corporation at Quetta on May 22, 1972 tried to clarify his new approach towards Pak-American relations :

Question:"just getting back to your personally, Sir, I have seen Press reporters describing you as anti-American and yet I know that your-

self went to University in the States. Is there any truth to this that you may be anti-American ?

President: "It is not correct. Why should I be anti-American? American people have achieved great progress, great strides. They have made remarkable contribution to Science, to technology, education, culture, literature so how can I be anti-American ? But I opposed U.S. policy on many occasions in the past and I also do not like your policy assumption in Viet Nam. But that does not make me anti-American". (Speeches and statements April 1, 1972 June 30, 1972).

In this interview Z.A. Bhutto pointed out that U.S.A. would play an active role in Asia. He also denied that he was an anti-American politician. His point of view is that he opposed certain policies which were contrary to the policy of his country. So it means that he was not anti-America but simply differed with America on certain matters relating to his country.

Bhutto in an article published in, "Foreign Affairs", in April, 1973 said: "on February 9, 1972 President Nixon in a message to the Congress, re-affirmed American concern for the well being and security of Pakistan. This has added a new warmth to the relation between the United States and Pakistan, and the continuing efforts of both sides augur well for the future. We are convinced that freed from the incubus of the Vietnam War the U.S. can play a most beneficient role, not only in helping in our economic reconstruction and development but also in safeguarding our security". (P. 17)

If we analyse this part of his article we can easily understand that Z.A. Bhutto is neither pro-America nor anti-America. When he opposed American policy as Foreign Minister of Pakistan it was also a political compulsion and now when he talks of opening a new chapter of relation with America as the President of Pakistan, he tries to recognise the new realities.

It is our national duty to preserve our national interests in the context of changing conditions. Bhutto has always acted upon this principle. He has always tried to have friendly relations with other global powers. He particularly urged that Pakistan must have friendly relation with China, the essential element of foreign

policy of Pakistan. Pakistan cannot ignore Russia also because she is a big power. Thus Pakistan's foreign policy has a wide range ; it is flexible and viable. Those who consider Bhutto anti-America and those who take him pro-America are all mistaken. He is pro-Pakistan through and through. For him national interests are supreme ; all alliances are to safeguard and to protect them. Bhutto wrote in an Article published in " Foreign Affairs ": "The corollary of our assertion that the global powers would follow a balanced policy in relation to the States in the sub-continent is the need for Pakistan to preserve friendly and balanced relations with all world powers in so far as it is compatible with our relf respect and dignity." P. 16

(Foreign Affairs An American Quraterly Review April, 1973.)

"Pakistan is an Asian State, whose destinies are for ever linked with those of Asia, and it is vital for Pakistan to maintain friendly relations with China for strengthening Asian Unity".

Z. A. Bhutto

Bhutto & Pak-China Relations

"He (Bhutto) was, and remains, totally wedded to the policy of close ties with China and on them it appears, he regards the future of Pakistan as depending"

('From Crisis to Crisis' by Herbert Feldman Page : 34)

Bhutto & Pak-China Relations

When Z.A. Bhutto became the Foreign Minister of Pakistan in 1963, Pakistan and China had begun to move closer to each other. Sino-Indian armed conflict of 1962 had resulted in a disgraceful Indian defeat. U.S.A. was displaying growing concern for India. In these circumstances, Bhutto's assumption of the office of Foreign Ministership, augured well for strengthening Pak-China relations. It is a well known fact that Bhutto determined the right direction and put foreign policy on such lines which made Pak-China friendship enviable, resisting all pressures and enduring the test of time.

Two basic principles enjoy great importance in the eyes of Z.A. Bhutto. First, that the political action should be adjusted to the requirements of objective realities. Second, that some principles undergo change according to circumstances whereas others are permanent because of permanent interests. So far as first principle is concerned, it is applicable to relations between Pakistan, India and America. As regards the second one, it is applicable to Pak-China relations. Bhutto gives paramount importance to Pak-China friendship and has always thought that no external pressure should have repercussions on relations between these two countries, and if Pakistan turned her face away from China she would become the victim of big powers conspiracies and will, as a result, suffer badly.

Many changes have occured lately which have introduced new portents in international politics. Russia is keen to push forward its Asian security plan and has also signed a pact with India. This all is against the interest of China and also Pakistan and calls

for even more friendship and understanding between these countries. Pak-China relations show a geographical reality and are in keeping with the strategic needs of Pakistan. China has always supported Pakistan in its disputes against India. India aggressed against China in 1962 and against Pakistan in 1965 and 1971. But both China and Pakistan faced upto Indian aggression.

China is an ardent supporter of small countries who are being exploited by imperialist and neo-imperialist powers. She is capable of giving leadership to the Third World, comprising a score of under-developed and developing countries.

Reverting to Z.A. Bhutto's role in strengthening Pak-China relations, it may be substantiated with facts that Bhutto and not Ayub Khan was responsible for bringing Pakistan and China closer to each other. If we analyse Bhutto's political trends during his tenure as the Foreign Minister of Pakistan, we can easily understand his eagerness for Pak-China friendship. Ayub Khan may have wanted better relations with China but the warmth and vigour was injected only by Z. A. Bhutto. Ayub Khan was basically a Pro-West politician whereas Bhutto has always given more importance to Asia and the Third World. Ayub Khan once stated:" It is a gross misconception to believe that only the Christian world is threatened by communism. Events now taking place in the Middle East clearly indicate that the World of Islam is not immune from communist danger". (P. 113 Speeches and statements Muhammad Ayub Khan Vol : 1)

When America and Britain extended heavy military aid to India in 1962, Ayub Khan thought of China in order to maintain balance of power in the Sub-continent. Ayub Khan's desire, therefore, to forge good relations with China was not based on sincerity and was negative in nature. Bhutto, however, fully recognised the geo-political position of Pakistan and China's role as the leader of the Third World and made admirable efforts for achieving Pak-China friendship. He has always adhered to his point of view pertaining to Pak-China relations and has never shown any vacillation. Moreover, Ayub Khan was against communist system whereas Z. A.

Bhutto believes in socialist pattern of society. This ideological preference is an ample proof for judging real contribution of Z.A. Bhutto towards Pak-China relationship.

After 1965 Pak-India war, Ayub Khan went to Tashkent without consulting China and lost whatever had been gained in the field during war. On the other hand, Bhutto publically denounced Tashkent accord. It incurred Ayub Khan's and President Johnson's displeasure and Bhutto had to quit his office of Foreign Ministership. Bhutto in his booklet titled, "Pakistan and the Alliances" states : "The former President of U.S. tried to use the great power of his office to dictate onerous political terms on my country. I happened to incur his displeasure on account of Pakistan's growing relations with the Peoples Republie of China. He was also angered by the position I took in Vietnam. The reasons for which President Johnson was determined to punish me in 1965 was the same reason that obliged him to withdraw altogether from public life in 1968." (P. 7)

In order to fully understand the nature of Pak-China relations, it is essential to start from the period when Pakistan entered into defence pacts. SEATO was directly aimed against growing communist influence in South East Asia, and was meant for the containment of China. Chou-En-Lai described SEATO as : "A plan to ensure the setting up of new military springboards and bases as well as to place the small countries in subordinate positions politically and economically" (Page 80 quoted by Pakistan and the Great powers.)

Pakistan joined SEATO primarily because of Indian military threat. This was clearly indicated when Pakistan signed the pact. In the words of D. W. Crowley :,"

"The signatories were the U.S., Britian, France, Australia, New-Zealand, the Philippines, Siam and Pakistan. Pakistan's signatures were rather un-expected and at her request the aggression was not specified in the wording as Communist aggression, as the U.S. had intented. This request, of course, underlined the fact that in becoming a member of the alliance she was taking precaution not

so much against possible communist attack as against attack by India. However, the U.S. added a unilateral rider to the treaty to the effect that as far as it was concerned 'armed attack, would be interpreted as referring only to communist action."

(P. 284 The Background To Current Affairs).

Pakistan Government tried to tell China that her participation in SEATO was solely meant to ward off Indian aggression. The Chinese leadership, however, could not be convinced and they became suspicious of our intentions as lackey of American imperialism. Chu-En-Lai said: "We are against NATO the Mainla treaty and other similar treaties. However, if such antagonistic military treaties continue in the world, then we would be forced to find some countries to enter into (with) and sign a similar, antagonistic military alliance in order to safeguard and protect ourselves against aggression." –

"It is for this reason, basically, that we have assembled here to discuss problems of common concern and the question of peace. We should abandon the idea of such alliances, because they are to nobody's good and also it is to no one's good to publicise these treaties."

"The day before yesterday after lunch I paid a visit to the Prime Minister of Pakistan. He told me that although Pakistan was a party to a military treaty, Pakistan was not against China. Pakistan had no fear that China would commit aggression against her. As a result of that we achieved a mutual understanding although we are still against military treaties."

"The Prime Minister of Pakistan further assured that if the U S. should take aggressive action under the military treaties or if the U.S. launched a global war, Pakistan would not be involved in it. He said Pakistan would not be involved in it just as it was not involved in the Korean war. I am grateful to him for this explanation, because through these explanations we achieved a mutual understanding (P. 361 China, India & Pakistan.)

Pakistan and Chinese Premiers met during Bandung Conference. The former tried to impress upon China that Pakistan's entry into SEATO was an effort to seek protection against Indian aggressive

designs. It seems that this explanation by Pakistan Premier lessened Chinese apprehension which had appeared as a consequence of Pakistan's participation in SEATO pact.

Afterwards, Chinese attitude towards Pakistan remained lukewarm. In 1959 Ayub Khan wrote to Indian Premier Nehru, : "In case of external aggression both India and Pakistan should come together to defend the sub-continent". Nehru retorted : "defence against whom"? This stupid offer by Ayub Khan annoyed China. Further, in 1959 Manzoor Qadir, the then Foreign Minister, spoke the mind of his master during Malayan-Irish resolution in the United Nations calling for condemnation of China on Tibetan issue He supported the resolution and said:" alliance with the West is the sheet anchor of Pakistan's Foreign Policy. In the Western alignment is implicit the guarantee of our sovereignty and independence. We are not in that respect misunderstood now as we were some years ago. Our relations with the rest of the world do not call for any special comment". (Pakistan Horizon 1960 P. 3-11 quoted by Pak and the Great power).

This led to China's annoyance which was expressed in "Peoples Daily' and 'Peking Review". Chinese Government severely criticised SEATO and CENTO and the presence of American bases in Pakistan.

However, one thing which was recognised as a good Pakistani gesture was that she had always supported China's entry into the United Nations. The relations between the two countries, as has been mentioned earlier, draw their development to 1962 Sino-Indian border conflict. These relations were further strengthened after boundry agreement between Pakistan and China and later on with Bhutto's assumption of the office of Foreign Ministership. Bhutto introduced new dimensions to the foreign policy of Pakistan. This is explained by Bhutto in preface to his book, "Myth of Independence": "On my return from the famous General Assembly Session of 1960, which was attended by Premier Khrushchev, President Soekarno, Mr. Macmillan, Pandit Nehru, Fidel Castro and many other eminent statesmen, I was convinced that the time had arrived

for the Government of Pakistan to renew and revise it's F.P. I accordingly offered suggestions to my Government all of which were finally accepted. This was before I became F.M. The ground was thus prepared for my work, by changes introduced at my own insistence, when I took charge officially of the conduct of F.P. as Foreign Minister."

Further, while addressing National Assembly on July 17, 1963, he stated,: "I said that we had gained 750 square miles of territory from the Peoples Republic of China. Has that not been a real gain for us ? And China, too, did not lose on the whole. In fact, it gained in the sense it came to a settlement over the question of the boundary with Pakistan, hitherto an undefined boundary. The settlement laid the foundation for normal and good neighbourly-relation. After all what is our objective ? If the objective is to seek the good of our own country and also to seek the good of the world at large then it can be achieved only through such settlements as the one we had arrived at with China". (P-81 F.P. of Pakistan).

In August 1963, Pakistan and China signed a pact regarding Pakistan International Airlines (PIA)Karachi-Shanghai air route. The American Foreign Ministry was visibily piqued by this agreement and called it "An unfortumate breach of the free world". America in vengeance shelved 4. 3 million dollar grant for the construction of Dacca Airport. American displeasure was, however, given no importance. Pakistan & China signed a trade pact in January 4, 1963, according to which "Pakistan export was to include jute, jute manufactured goods, Cotton textile, leather, sports goods, surgical instruments, and newsprint. China was reported to have become the biggest buyer of Pak Cotton during 1963-64-302,000 bales out of Pakistan's total export of 5, 39,000 bales". (P. 244 Policies towards China Edi : A.M. Halpers.)

Mr. M. Ahsan Chaudhry dilates upon Pak-China trade relations as:- "Economic relations between Pakistan and China have grown over the years. Exports from Pakistan to China have increased from Rs. 43 million in 1962-63 to Rs. 107 million is 1967-68. Imports from China have risen to Rs. 221. 6 million as against Rs. 46.3 million a decade ago. Until 1962 the bulk of Pakistan export to

China consisted of cotton and jute, while the main imports from China were coal and cement. Lately, there has been a diversification in trade. Pakistan now exports to China not only jute, textile and cotton but also jute manufactured goods, leather and sports goods. Imports from China include such items as tools, machinery, chemicals, pig iron, paper and paraffin wax. To extend the area and scope of economic collaboration, China has given interest free credits to Pakistan. In 1964 China made available to Pakistan 60 million for the import of Chinese machinery and equipment and various other commodities. The interest free loan was given at a time when aid to Pakistan from the U.S. had declined considerably and Pakistan's second Five-Year-Plan was in difficulties. Naturally, the Chinese loan was widely hailed all over Pakistan, "we value their assistance the more, "said Ayub," because it involves a sacrifice on the part of China to promote self-reliance in a fellow Asian country. In December, 1967, China gave Pakistan another interest free loan of 40 Milllon as a supplement to the loan of 60 Million dollar for the third plan period. These loans have been used for setting up a heavy mechanical complex at Taxila to develop Pakistan's Agricultural Industries and to import raw materials. In Dec. 1968 China extended yet another interest free credit of 200 million dollar to Pakistan. In 1969, she offered to supply about 14, 500 tons of raw materials worth about 4.5. million to meet requirements of the Taxila mechanical complex during the first year. This loan is in addition to the one which China had provided for the purchases of machinery and other requirements for the complex", (P. 92 : Pak and World powers).

Meanwhile, China kept on supporting Pakistan stand on disputes against India. She openly condemned Indian aggression in 1965 war. On Sept 9, 1965, Chou-En-Lai, during speech in Peking, accused India of aggression against Pakistan and said that Indian attack was made after consultation with America and Russia. On September 16, 1965, China gave ultimatum to India to withdraw from Sikkim-China borders within three days. India complied with and withdrew from the borders. Z.A. Bhutto during his speech in National Assembly thanked China saying that God and China had saved Pakistan.

Marshal Chen-ye, the Chinese foreign Minister, explained his Government's support for Pakistan in a statement in Dacca in March, 1966, as : "Some people said that by supporting Pakistan's struggle against Indian aggression and the Kashmiri Peoples struggle for the right to self-determination, China was adding fuel to the fire and fishing in troubled waters. These assertions are a complete reversal of right and wrong. Should China have refrained from supporting the victim of aggression as they did, in order not to be labelled as 'adding fuel to fire'. Should China have supported India's annexation of Kashmir while disguising herself as an impartial mediator as they did, in order not te be labelled as 'fishing in troubled waters', We always draw a clear line of distinction between right and wrong and uphold principles. We maintain that only by supporting the victim of aggeession and dealing blows to the aggressor can justice be upheld and peace be defended". (quoted by Pakistan & Great powers).

Z.A. Bhutto, as earlier said, was the main architect of Pakistan relations with China. This has been acknowledged by foreign writers also. The following observation may be reproduced in this regard:" "President Ayub Khan, the architect of Pakistan military alliances with the west, is the responsible head of those groups of army and civil service officers who have become increasingly disenchanted with the west. There has been continuous and steady pressure on him to bring about a radical change in Pakistan's foreign policy, but on several occasions he has taken a stand against such a change. One example of this pressure was the demand of the Basic Democrates meeting in January, 1962 at Larkana (which is F.M. Bhutto's home town) for a reorientation in Pakistan F.P. In Mardan Ayub said, "If Pakistan did not have friends then she must not lose one half or quarter friends under the present circumstances". In a news conference he suggested that without "trying to be meddlesome" he was prepared to use his good offices to bring about an understanding between China and the U.S But he recognised the gulf between them."

"As I say, it is a very difficult situation. You people have difficulties too. After all, they are committed to supporting Chiang



President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto being received by the Prime Minister of China at Peking Airport.

Kai Shek, committed to defending Taiwan and so on. It is a political committment, it is an honourable commitment."

"Foreign Minister Bhutto has been closely associated with what has been described as "the normalization of relation with the Soviet Union and the communist China'. He has visited both countries. He has consistently argued that China has the right to occupy the China seat ia the U.N." (P. 249. Policies Toward China edited by D.M. Halpers).

After Bhutto's resigation from the office of the Foreign Ministership he publically acknowledged China's friendship. Bhutto in his book "Myth of Independence", observes as: "China's dominant place in Asia is assured. Pakistan is an Asian state, whose destinies are forever linked with those of Asia, and it is vital for Pakistan to maintain friendly relations with China for strengthening Asian unity. As members of the Communities of Asia and Africa, our countries have a common interest in the promotion of Afro-Asian solidarity, a further reason why they must maintain good relations with each other. Chinese support for the Arab nations is in conformity with Pakistan's position, as was conclusively demonstrated by the bold position China took on the side of the Arab states when Israel launched her recent aggression." (P.-13).

"Most important of all, she has unequivocally supported the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu Kashmir and their quite apart from other considerations must influence Pakistan in seeking friendly relations with China." (P. 132).

"It is, therefore, essential that Pakistan continues to develop friendly relations and resists all attempts to sever those existing with China, in view of the existing dictates of U.S. global policies, Pakistan must determine its foreign policy on the basis of its own enlightened self-interest". (P.-134).

Further :- "In view of past experience and other considerations Pakistan must pursue this principal objective : A policy of friendship and good faith with China, a great power with whom basic interests conform." (P. 145).

Ayub Khan was toppled in March, 1969, due to Bhutto's relentless efforts to put an end to despotic rule. But yet another

dictator, General Yahya Khan, succeeded Ayub. This dwarfish, foolish General backed by a caboodle of inept Generals, launched military action in East Pakistan in March, 1970, and played havoc with the already-exploited millions of empty stomachs of that wing. The result was that India invaded East Pakistan and occupied it. During this period China had been urging Yahya Khan to look out for some political settlement but that stupid General paid no heed. East Pakistan's loss proved a swan song for ruling junta. The popularly elected Z.A. Bhutto took over the charge of the mauled, buffetted and battered residual Pakistan on December 20, 1971. Meanwhile India and Russia had signed a pact in August, 1971. This gave Sino-Pakistan relations a new importance. Bhutto undertook tour of China and said in his speech in the Peoples Great Hall of Peking on February 1, 1972: "Relations between the Peoples Republic of China and Pakistan have stood the test of time. They have withstood the rigours of the political weather. This is because our relations are rooted in principles, in geography and in a common political understanding based on permanent values" (P.-71 speeches and statements).

Further on April 14, 1972, Bhutto while addressing the National Assembly stated ; "our ties with the Peoples Republic of China have always been close. Their support in the recent crisis has forged an even deeper and more enduring friendship between us."
(P.-43 Speeches and Stateements.)

Bhutto made another friendly gesture toward China by quitting SEATO. Both SEATO and Russian Asia Security plan had annoyed China and she had very well understood the dangers inherent in such alliances. Z.A. Bhutto in his book "Pakistan and Alliances" has commented as : "The proposed alliance will not serve the cause of peace. On the contrary, it will exacerbate international tensions. The need for such an alliance does not exist and, if it does, against whom is it directed? No matter how eloquently it is denied, there is no doubt that China will consider the alliance to be directed against her. On the 28th June, 1969, China sharply attacked the Soviet proposed system of collective security in Asia as "actually an anti-China military alliance picked up from the garbage heap of history". The systemwas compared with SEATO to contain China" (P-36)



President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and his members of the delegation photographed with Premier Chou-en-Lai at Great Peoples Hall, Peking on 31.2.72.

Bhutto yet in another interview to the correspondent of 'Des Spiegel' shed light on Pak-China relations. :

Question : " I think at the dinner you said some very interesting thing. That your relations with Russia are fine but your relations with China are the most important for Pakistan. So you think China is the most important friend and patron of Pakistan ? It was, has been and will be."

President:"Yes, but point is that China has stood by us in every crisis. They have been good friends of Pakistan and we want to be friends with others as well. It is you who have even taken a different position. But we cannot do that on any condition. We can do that independent of conditions. It does not mean that in order to have good relations with the U.S. we must have bad relations with China. This is the condition that I did not accept when I was Foreign Minister."

Question : " Well' even Mr. Nixon goes to Pakistan and to Moscow ".

President : "But even as F. M. I did not accept that position. When the Americans at that time were so allergic to China and I said that its not possible for us not to have good relations with the U.S. as well as with China. At that time President Kennedy and, of course, afterwards Johnson simply could not accept that position. Now the American Government accepts that position. President Nixon has also gone to China. So that the U.S. also must accept that it is possible for us to have good relations with the U.S. without having deterimental relations with China". (p-74-75 Speeches and Statements).

Bhutto while touching upon the question of alliances told Hussain Heykal of Al-Ahram that under no circumstances was Pakistan ready to join new alliances like Russian Asian security plan because Pakistan had already been harmed by such pacts which had failed to protect her independence and integrity.

Bhutto's inclination towards China has frequently been reciprocated by Chinese leader's statements and articles and comments in Chinese Journals. Chou-En-Lai in a message to Bhutto on March

23, 1973, categorically stated that Chinese Government would come to Pakistan's assistance in case of external aggression and intervention and that the people of China were with the people of Pakistan in latter's struggle for independence and defence of their motherland.

Z.A. Bhutto's keenness for friendly relations with China reflects his political realism, the cornerstone of his political theory. His concept of foreign policy draws inspiration from the requirements of national interests. In Pak-China friendship he sees that Pakistan's national interests are protected to a great extent. In his article, "Pakistan Builds up Anew" published in the "Foreign affairs" of April, 1973, Bhutto writes:- "Friendship with China has for some years been a cornestone of Pakistan foreign policy, based as it is partly on our geographical proximity, partly on the similarity of our ideals and ambition in relation to the Third World. China's support of Pakistan at crucial points in our history has evoked the spontaneous appreciation of our people. Our association with China which was misinterpreted in the past, is now being better understood, with the current detente between China and the U.S.

"By maintaining friendly relation with all the great powers on the basis of principles and not expediency Pakistan hopes to avoid involvement in disputes and struggle between them. It is a part of our new policy that we should refrain from participating in multilateral pacts directed by one bloc of powers against another" (P - 17 printed copy of the article published in foreign affairs, an American quarterly review, April, 1973).

"Russia is our neighbour. It is a big country. We shall co-operate if they do not interfere in our internal affairs",

Z. A. Bhutto

Bhutto & Pak-U.S.S.R. Relations

Bhutto & Pak-U.S.S.R. Relations

Wars between India and Pakistan have changed political, economic and military position of Pakistan. Besides, the Government of U.S.S.R. is asserting to enlarge her influence in South Asia. Viewed in this perspective, Bhutto's desire to have cordial relations with Russia reflects realistic approach. Nobody in Pakistan can deny the fact that Pakistan had never had close relations with Russia. Although a few politicians tried to have good *relations* with Russia yet the political situation and clash of interests in this area created impediments.

Russia invited the Prime Minister of Pakistan, Liaquat Ali Khan, to visit Russia in 1950. Liaqat decided to visit Washington instead. Further, Pakistan's decision to join two military pacts, SEATO and CENTO, initiated by America, angered Russia. These two important decisions taken by Pakistan Government created misunderstanding between the two countries. Russia, being a Communist country protested against these alliances. NATO in Europe and SEATO and CENTO in Asia incurred Russian displeasure. Muhammad Ahsan Chaudhary has elaborated this situation as : "When SEATO and the Baghdad Pact (later CENTO) came into being, the Soviet Union strongly protested to Pakistan for joining them. The USSR alleged that these pacts were aimed against her as well as the other communist countries particularly China. SEATO, in the Soviet Prime Minister's view, was aimed at "Preservation and consolidation of colonialism, suppression of national liberation movements and interference in the affairs of the Chinese Peoples Republic and other Asian coun-

tries. The Baghdad Pact, like SEATO, was also looked upon by the Soviet Union as a part of the Western system of military pacts, hostile to her. "One might have believed in the defensive nature of the Pact", said a Russian writer" had it come into being as a result of the efforts of the Middle Eastern countries themselves without participation and interference of the Great Powers located thousands of miles away from this region".

(Pakistan and the Great Powers P - 57)

Earlier, when question of American military assistance to Pakistan was under consideration, Russian Government showed her displeasure :—

"Concerning the establishment of American air bases in Pakistan, it is reported that Pakistan and U.S. Govts. were negotiating on the question of Pakistan joining in a plan to set up 'a military aggressive bloc in the Middle East".

(Quoted by Pakistan and the Great Powers).

Pakistan tried to clarify her position and assured Russia that she had no intention to use these arms for aggressive purposes. Pakistan told USSR that her aim in joining these pacts was to get assurance from the West for her security which had at times been threatened by neighbouring India. This, however, could not satisfy Russian Government and she started courting India. U.S.S.R. not only helped India in economic and military fields, but also openly supported Indian point of view regarding the Kashmir dispute :-

"During his visit to India in 1955, Khurshchev explicitly laid down the Soviet position on Kashmir. That Kashmir is one of the states of the Republic of India has been decided by the people of Kashmir."

(Weekly 'Outlook', Karachi August 19, 1972,).

Russia served Indian cause in the Security Council and used her Veto power in favour of India. In addition, she initiated pressure tactics to harass Pakistan. Afghanistan, with Russia on its back, started propaganda regarding 'Pakhtoonistan' stunt.

Khrushchev said in Srinagar : "The present Govt. of Pakistan openly professes its closer ties with American monopolistic circles. They were among the first to initiate the notorious Baghdad Pact, which was not created in the interest of Peace. They have allowed the creation of American bases on their territory and this is in the immediate neighbourhood of the frontiers of the S.U. We say openly that the creation of American military bases on the territory cannot but disturb us".

(Quoted by Pakistan and the Great Powers).

And further :- Varying in intensitics from time to time, Afghanistan's interest in this project was especially marked following Pakistan's acceptance of American aid. She received the support of U.S.S.R. In return the SEATO powers at a 1956 conference issued a declaration favouring Pakistan. Soviet interest in Afghanistan, after appearing to decline when Britain left India, revived notably after the military aid treaty. Communist agents have again been active, and the U.S.S.R. has furnished Afghanistan with development aid. She now advocates the formation of a new state, called variably Pakhtoonistan or Pathanistan as similar now in the region."

(P. 260. The background to Current Affairs, D.W. Crowley).

Russian attitude hardenend so much that Russian Ambassador, Dr. Kupitas, after presenting his credentials to the President of Pakistan told the pressmen :-

"It was logical that a section of the Pathans, separated from Afghanistan by the Britain colonialists sixty years ago, should be asked through a plebiscite if they wanted to remain in Pakistan or wanted to form an independent State".

(Weekly 'Outlook' Karachi)

Lenin's theory of self-determination was being applied by Russians to harm Pakistan. Russian stand on self determination of people of Kashmir was contradictory. She vetoed the Resolution in Security Council which favoured plebiscite in Kashmir. In April 1958, and then in February, 1959, Russian Government alleged that Pakistan had allowed America to build

military base on her soil. Russia threatened Pakistan of dire consequences. Later on the U-2 incident accentuated Russian annoyance and Khrushchev drew a red circle around Peshawar. Khrushchev on May 11, 1960, while talking to pressmen in Moscow remarked :-

"The fault of states such as Turkey, Pakistan and others, is that they have joined aggressive blocs. People often say in such cases that a man has sold his soul to the devil. Until he signs that contract he can do what he likes with himself. But later on it is the devil who commands his soul."

(P - 275, World in Crisis, Frederic H. Hartman)

Russian hostile attitude had a thaw only due to Z.A. Bhutto's efforts in his capacity as the Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources. He prevailed upon Ayub Khan to placate Russians and signed Oil Exploration Agreement with U.S.S.R. Bhutto in his speech on November 26, 1962, pleaded normalisation of relations with Russia. He said :-

"I have always advocated the normalisation of relation with the Soviet Union and Communist China. I do not believe that our membership of the pacts is incompatible with such an approach. It was in pursuance of this objective that I proposed the conclusion of the Oil Agreement between Pakistan and the S.U. There is a great deal of territory on which we can meet the communist world as friends in the common cause of preserving world peace.

"We, as a nation of nearly one hundred million people, the fifth largest in the world, can play a role in the normalization of international relations and in the reduction of international tension. The Soviet Union is our close neighbour. In the long and stormy march of history, our paths have often crossed. There has been an intermingling of races and cultures in our two regions. The great heritage which Scions of the House of Timural brought to us from what today is Soviet Central Asia inspires us and will continue to inspire us. During my visit to Samar Kand, Tashkent and other places in those parts, I was amazed to witness the great

affinity of cultures and outlook between their people and ours. I was amazed because, inspite of the high mountains that separate us and the lack of contacts during the past centuries, there was abundant evidence of the indissoluble links between our two regions. We extend the hand of friendship to the Soviet Union on terms of equality and self-respect."

(P - 19, F. P. of Pak. Z.A. Bhutto).

Z.A. Bhutto was the first Pakistani leader who urged promotion of good relations with the Soviet Union. According to his point of view, the oil agreement between Russia and Pakistan paved the way for better relations between the two countries. He writes in his book "Myth of Independence":-

"In Dec. 1960 in my capacity as Minister for Fuel, Power and Natural Resources, I went to Moscow to conduct negotiations with the Soviet Union for an oil agreement. I mention this fact because it marked the point at which our relations with the Soviet Union, most unsatisfactory until then, began to improve."

In october, 1963, a Civil Aviation Agreement was signed between Pakistan and the Soviet Union.

In 1965, Russia promised to give Rs. 150 to 250 million to enable Pakistan to import machinery from Russia. She also promised to assist Pakistan in the installation of steel mill, atomic power plant and fishery development Project.

On the other hand, however, Russia increased assistance to India. In 1964, she gave 3 squadron of MIGS and military assistance to the tune of 131 million dollars to India. Pakistan protested but U.S S.R. paid no attention. India was building up her military strength with Russian and American assistance. Indian military preparation alarmed Pakistan and in April, 1965, Ayub Khan, during his visit to Moscow, discussed about Indian aggressive designs with the Russian leaders. He also suggested a new field of co-operation. His visit proved fruitful and both the countries signed an agreement to co-operate in economic fields. Under this agreement Russian Government promised to assist Pakistan in nearly

30 different development projects. Russia increased 20 million dollars loan in addition to her already sanctioned one of 30 million dollars. Ayub Khan comments on his visit in his book "Friends Not Masters":-

"It was not until April 1965 that Pakistan was able to establish direct contact with the U.S.S.R. For eighteen years we knew little about each other at the human level. Inevitably, both sides acted under preconceived notions and suffered from a sense of distance. I mentioned earlier that our membership of the Baghdad Pact introduced an element of strain in our relations with the U.S.S.R. The Indians were not aware to exploiting the situation and presented us to the Soviet Union as some kind of theocratic state opposed to all liberal movements. In Pakistan, too, there was a certain inhibition about the U.S.S.R and a section of the people believed that contact with Russia would encourage the growth of communism in the country.

"But the main cause, to my mind, was that even though our civilization and culture had close connections with Central Asia, two hundred years of Britain occupation had wiped out these connections. By the time the British so left, the contact had been lost. When we achieved independence, our natural tendency was to look to the west rather than towards our immediate neighbours, and the western countries were not too anxious for us to have any dealings with the S.U. My visit to the S.U. in 1965 was eventually intended to recover the lost lines. The fact of neighbourhood was a physical and geographical one, and I wanted to re-establish the validity and compulsion of this fact".

(P - 168 - 169 Friends Not Masters)

Z.A. Bhutto as the Foreign Minister, of Pakistan, during his visit to Moscow in April, 1965, touched upon the nature of relations and common interest of the two countries. He said :-

> "Pakistan believed in peaceful co-existence and subscribed to the Bandung Principles, to "Complete and general disarmament, liquidation of colonialism of whatever form and texture-white or brown - that may take place".

He further said :

> "We are an ideological state, so is the S.U. As an eastern thinker has said, let one hundred flowers bloom and one hundred schools of thoughts contend".
>
> (Dawn, 6 April 1965)

Tashkent Declaration, however, created new suspicions about Russian intentions. It was apprehended by very many Pakistanis that Russia had sided with India and had forced Ayub Khan in signing the declaration which was detrimental to Pakistani interests. Bhutto showed obvious displeasure over the accord and this sowed differences between Ayub Khan and his Foreign Minister who incidentally was adorned with a better foresight, acumen and sense of time. Later on, when Bhutto resigned from the foreign ministership, he publically denounced Tashkent Agreement. He knew and very intelligently understood the game behind this accord i.e. Russo-American apprehension about China's increasing influence and Pakistan's growing relations with the latter as a result of Chinese open support of Pakistan against Indian balatant aggression. Bhutto sensed that this declaration may with the time affect Pak-Chinese relations thereby giving the chance of success to Russo-American designs. He, therefore, rightly condemned this accord. He writes in his book 'Myth of Independence" :-

"The Soviet Union also wants a settlement of Indo-Pakistan disputes, but for different reasons. Upto a point the interests of two global powers are similar. The announcement made in Washington on 12 April 1967 states that the Soviet Union, among other nations was consulted and informed of the United States' decision to stop military assistance to India and Pakistan. If the two global powers are acting in concert to force a settlement between India and Pakistan, it would mean that Pakistan would have to make greater sacrifices and pursue a bolder policy of friendship with the Peoples Republic of China. If, however, the Soviet Union is not in conformity with the United States and will not cooperate in forcing a settlement by the use of collective aid basis, it would be less difficult for Pakistan to retain the neutrality.

"The Soviet Union seeks peace between India and Pakistan to contain the influence of the U. S. and China. The United States seeks peace between the two countries to prevent the spread of soviet influence in the sub-continent and to make India and Pakistan joinlty face China. This is the important difference and it would have been conclusive, if Sino-Soviet differences had not become so deep. The Soviet Union is unlikely to press Pakistan with the same degrees of intensity as the United States to take second place to India and openly to assume a belligerent attitude towards China. The United States, on the other hand, would like Pakistan to co-operate with India, thus completing the encirclement of China from this end of Asia. The sub-continent is the one gap yet to be filled. Time alone will show to what extent the Soviet Union will co-operate with the United States to meet a part of their common objective. The Soviet Union position might remain close to that of the United States for some time, but it is doubtful if the proximity of interest is likely to endure indefinitely. The time has surely come for the Soviet Union to redefine its global role and remove the doubts occasioned by its being pushed into one compromise after another by the United States. In any event, Pakistan is capable of exercising considerable manoeuverability to negotiate a more favourable relationship with Soviet Union.

(P - 84 - 85)

After Ayub's fall, Yahya Khan took over. His military action in East Pakistan was condemned the world over. President Podgorny in a message to Pakistan Government in April, 1971 urged to put an end to bloodshed and find some political solution This, however, fell on ruling junta's deaf ears and they considered Russian advice an interference in Pakistan's internal affairs. The result appeared in the form of separation of eastern wing of Pakistan and also sounded the death knell of the Generals. Z. A Bhutto took over and inspired new hope in the humiliated defeated Nation.

Bhutto as the President of Pakistan had two alternatives : either to follow the old policy of antagonistic attitude against U.S.S.R



President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto with General Secretary of the Central Committee of the C P S U. Mr. I. I. Brezhnev (right) and Mr. Andrei Gormyko, Minister of Foreign Affairs, USSR, when he called on the former, in Moscow on March 17, 1972.

(and India also) or to strive for normalisation and improvement of relations in view of changed international and particularly South Asian political panorama.

Z.A. Bhutto has specific views about relations between a global power and a small country. He believes in avoiding a direct confrontation with any global power, having good and friendly relations with these powers, but at the same time resisting pressures of big powers. Therefore, when he opposed some powers or supported the other, he adhered to these principles.

According to Bhutto's political theory he tries to maintain relations on bilateral basis. That is why he went to Russia in March, 1972, to improve Pakistan relations with a neighbouring country. It was in keeping with Bhutto's desire to overhaul foreign policy of Pakistan. Bhutto in his address to Nation on December 20, 1971 said :-

"Foreign policy has to be recast and redone. It will be naturally an independent foreign policy motivated towards the higher interest of Pakistan. We want good relations with all the Great Powers. We want to have a foreign policy which is positive and which is constructive."

(Speeches and Statements).

When he returned from Moscow, he addressed a public meeting on March 19, 1972 and said :

"We seek a life of peace and justice. We wish good relations with Russia. Russia is our neighbour. It is a big country. We shall co-operate if they do not interfere in our internal affairs.

"China is our friend. China has stood by us. Our relations with China are not based on hypocricy,

"America was suspicious of our friendship with China. It does not mean we are not friendly to the United States. Our friendship and bond with China will stay and grow stronger. Our friendship with China is not directed against Russia. If India wishes to improve her relations with us, we are willing too. I want to assure China that there will be no conspiracy against her.

"We shall never give up our friendship with China. We wish good relations with Russia and good relations with America. We wish good relations with all other countries." (P. 141)

On his return from U.S.S.R. he addressed the National Assembly in April, 1972, and expressed satisfaction over his visit to the Soviet Union. He said :-

"On the 16th of March, I went to the Soviet Union, our great northern neighbour, to repair our mutual relations. I am happy to inform the house that without compromising our basic principles, we were able to convince the leaders of the Soviet Union that we desired peace in the sub-continent, and good relations with all states in our propinquity. I am glad that we have been able to normalise our relation with this great power and neighbouring state."

(P 41, Speeches and Statements of Z A. Bhutto).

He further commented on his visit to Moscow in an article published in "Foreign Affairs". :

"The corollary of our assertion that the global powers should follow a balanced policy in relation to the states in the sub-continent is the next for Pakistan to preserve friendly and balanced relations with all world powers in so far as it is compatible with our self-respect and dignity. I am glad to say that there has recently been a marked improvement in our relations with the Soviet Union, especially since my visit to Moscow in March 1972, It is our earnest hope that the estrangement between the Soviet Union and the Peoples Rupublic of China will not impede the development of this process."

(Foreign Affairs, An American Quarterly Review April 1973).

Z.A. Bhutto not only tried to improve relations with a global power during his visit to Moscow, but he brought some changes in foreign policy, which helped to remove misunderstanding between the two countries. Bhutto after assuming power announced dissociation from SEATO, which in past had created misgivings



A view of the talks between President Zulfiqar Ali Bhutto and Premier Kosygin at Grand Karmlin Palace, Moscow on March 16, 1972.

Pakistan recognised North Vietnam, North Korea and East Germay and also declared to establish good relations with global powers on bilateral basis and without involving herself in the disputes of global powers. These steps impressed Russia and Bhutto, due to his correct approach, succeeded in removing misunderstandings. Pakistan and Russia entered into a field of economic and cultural co-operation. Russian Government in March 1973 decided to write off the loan given to Pakistan, and allocated for the development of East Pakistan (Bangla Desh) According to New Delhi Rodio, Prime Minister of Russia, Mr. Kosygin, in a letter addressed to Indian and Bangla Desh Governments, urged them to release Pakistani prisoners of war in order to normalise relations in South Asia.

The Secretary General of Russian Communist Party, Mr. Brehzenev, presented a report on the 50th anniversary of U.S.S.R. wherein he urged to have good and friendly relations with Pakistan. and Russia signed a trade agreement. On that occasion Mr. P. J. Sakoyon, Chairman of External Trade and Import & Export Department said :-

> "That there had been a four-fold increase in trade between the two countries during the 1965-70 period."

The Soviet Union is in favour of concluded long-term trade agreement. In this case most favoured nation treatment is given by the Soviet Union. Under this treatment our partners pay minimum duties. This is specifically advantageous for developing countries.

(Daily Morning News, Karachi, May 1, 1972)

Daily Morning News commented on April 27, 1973 :- "For Pakistan, the trade pact has great significance in view of the uncertain aid prospects and need for greater reliance on export earnings to mobilise foreign exchange component of the country's development outlay. Pakistan trade with the socialist countries has already made a significant contribution towards meeting the country's vital needs of capital goods and equipment without straining its limited foreign exchange resources. Hence the urgency for consolidating there ties.

"The preponderence of manufactured goods such as cotton textiles, hosiery, towels and sheets, machine made carpets, footwear, spectacles, and surgical instruments in the list of items to be exported by Pakistan to the U.S.S.R. is encouraging for the country export industries.— In short, the agreement fully reflects the mutuality of interest and a keen desire to further strengthen the bonds of trade and economic co-operation. It is also reassuring that the impediments that had developed in mutual trade exchange following the rupee devaluation have been removed and an agreement has been reached on balancing of the exchanges under the previous trade accords. This strengthen the hope that the accord will be implemented in the happy spirit in which it has been concluded."

(Daily Morning News, Karachi April 30, 1973)

For cordial relations between Pakistan and U. S. S. R., however, more efforts need to be made. Pakistani people are suspicious about Russian intentions. They disliked Mr. Kosygin's statement in which he declared that Russia will again interfere if conditions like those in East Pakistan surfaced in any part of Pakistan and further when he referred to the 'States of Hindustan'. Pakistan also showed alarm over Russians fish trawlers plying near Pak borders. They are also apprehensive of the Indo-Russian Friendship Treaty of August 1971. Though there is a need to play down all this, U. S. S. R. still has to give friendly gestures to remove the supsicions from the hearts of Pakistani people.

As regards collective Asian Security Scheme initiated by Soviet Union, the comments of Z. A. Bhutto published in Kehan International of Iran are self-evident on this important issue and clearly spell present Government's attitude: "Before the idea of collective Asian Security could be taken seriously, one had to settle a number of territorial, political, boundary and traditional problems that still plague the continent.

"The Middle East conflict must be settled, the sub-continent must experience peace, the long border between China and the U.S.S.R. should be demarcated".

"Once there is a hope of achieving them, one can talk of Asian security. However, all such talk is premature and if there is a proposal for a conference on the subject that would only accentuate existing rivalries, Pakistan would refuse to attend'.

(Daily "Dawn" Karachi May, 25 1973).

Z. A. Bhutto and people of Pakistan are desirous of building good, friendly relations with U. S. S. R. provided the latter makes sincere efforts to remove appehensions looming in the minds of people here. In an interview to Kehan International, Bhutto spoke the mind of his people :-

"Turning to relations with Russia, I have gone out of the way to repair relations with Moscow. But we cannot be expected to take every thing flat on our backs. We are more than ready to forge the best of relations with the U. S. S. R. provided they respect our dignity and integrity."

(Daily "Dawn" Karachi, May 25, 1973).